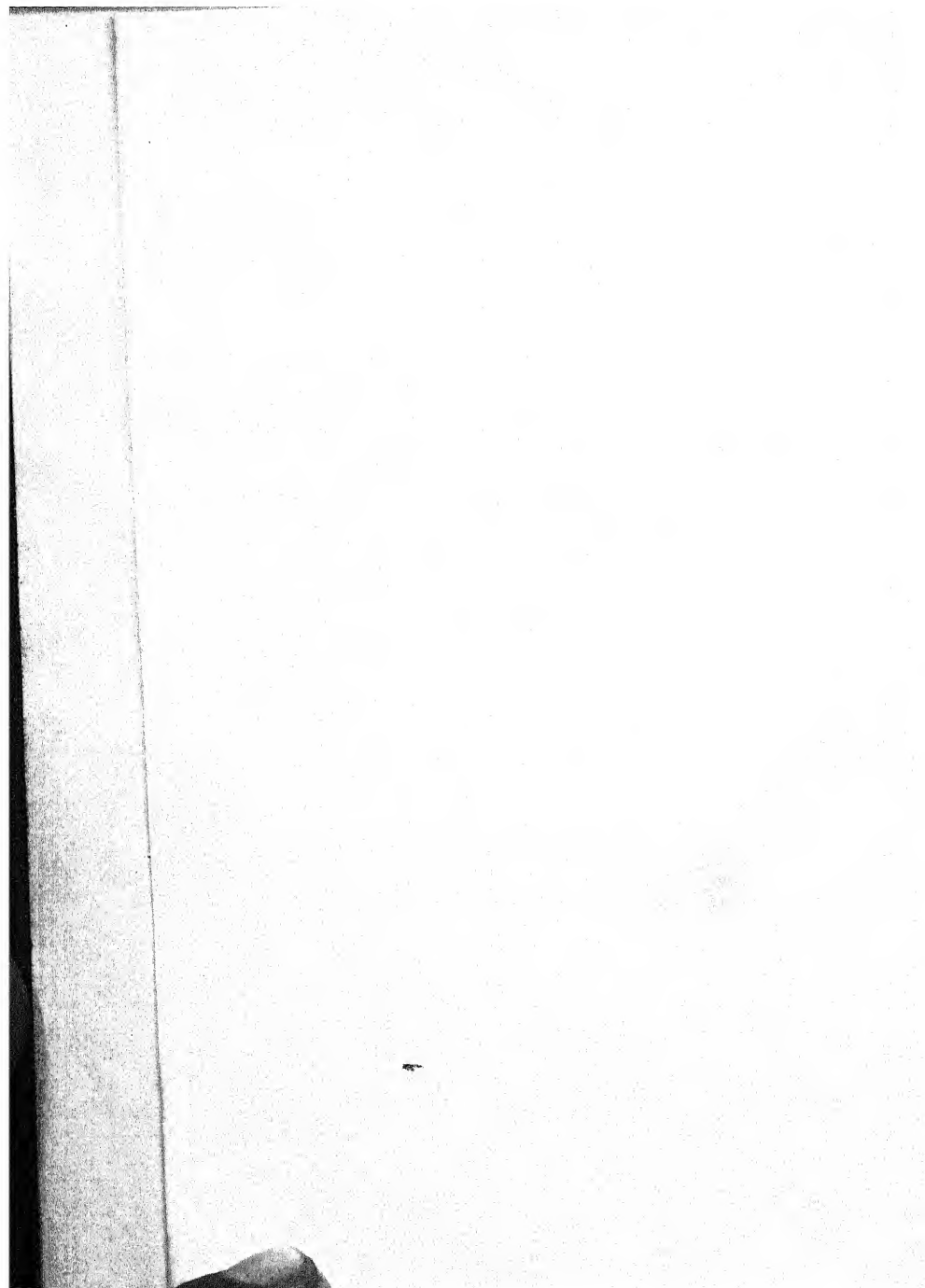


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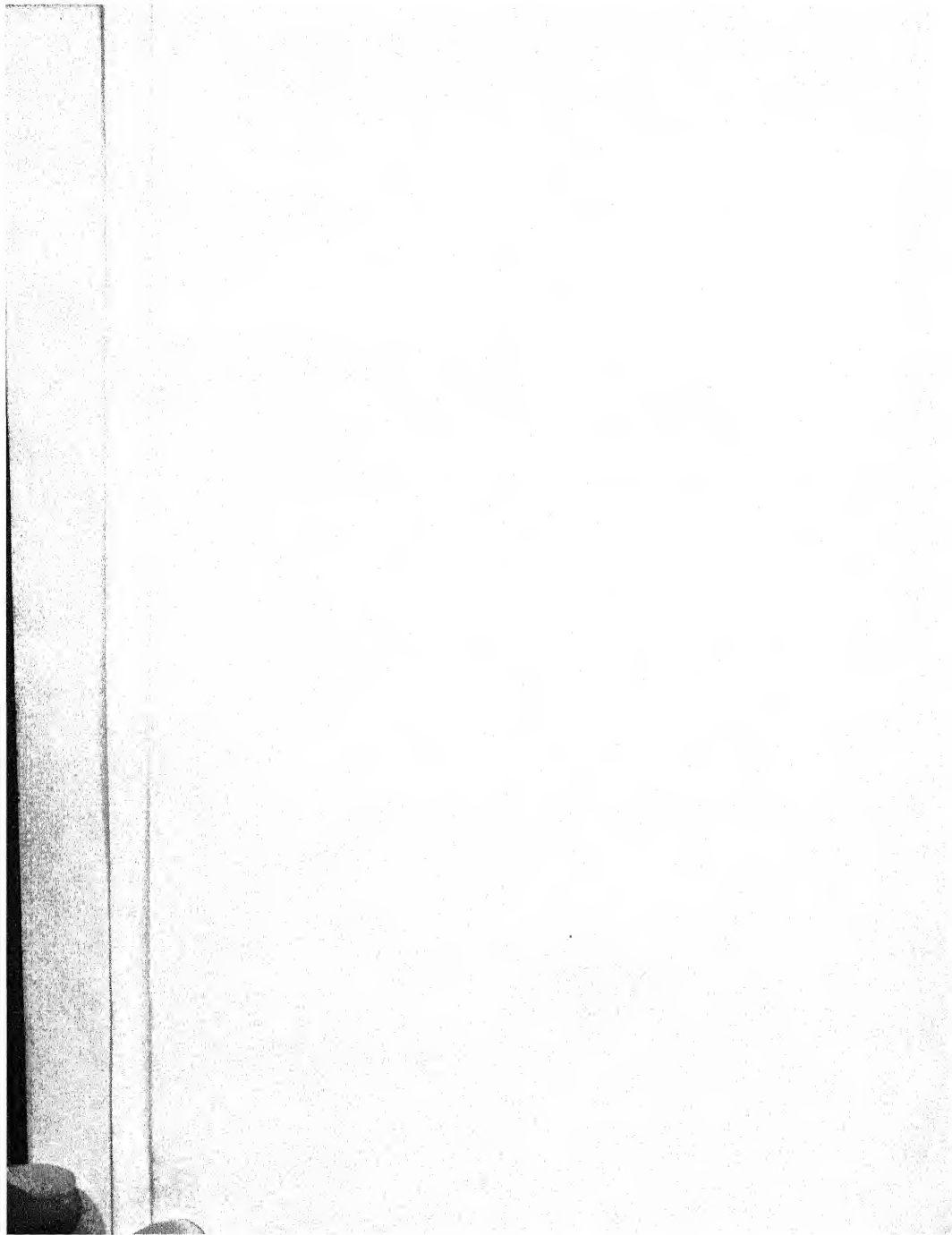
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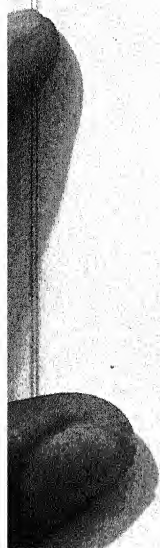
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# THE ELEPHANT AND THE ARYANS

By SARVA DAMAN SINGH

THE ASSOCIATION OF man and elephant dates back to remote antiquity. The bones of the animal unearthed at Mohenjodaro, the realistic figurines, and the representations on the seals of the Indus sites point to the beginnings of this fateful friendship;<sup>1</sup> the docility, intelligence, and easy obedience of the elephant must have quickly led to its domestication, once it was known and captured. That the prosperous civilization of the Indus used the elephant for riding and other purposes, appears almost certain<sup>2</sup>; "the representations on the seals show the two breeds recognized today in India, the Kamooria Dhundia with its flat back, square head, and stout legs, and the inferior Meergha, less heavily built and with a sloping back."<sup>3</sup> The proto-Australoids were perhaps the first people to domesticate and train the elephant; the words *gaja* and *mātaṅga* have been traced to the pre-Aryan peoples of India speaking Austric languages.<sup>4</sup>

The elephant was known and tamed not in India alone, but elsewhere at a comparatively early date. Definite evidence of the elephant in Western Asia is found in Egyptian monuments, especially those of the 18th Dynasty. Thothmes II received elephants from his Syrian tributaries, which indicates that the animal existed in Western Asia and, more important, that it was already being tamed.<sup>5</sup> Thothmes III slew no less than 120 elephants in a great hunt in the land of Nii, in northern Syria. Indeed, elephants must have

<sup>1</sup> Marshall, *Mohenjodaro and the Indus Civilization*, 1931, vol. II, p. 653; Mackay, *Further Excavations at Mohenjodaro*, vol. II, pls. lxxix, 7, 8, 13; lxxxiv, 57; lxxxvi, 171, depict docile elephants with a thorough familiarity.

<sup>2</sup> Marshall, loc. cit.; Stuart Piggott, *Prehistoric India*, 1950, p. 157; Gordon Childe, *New Light on the Most Ancient East*, 1952, p. 176; Wheeler, *The Indus Civilization*, 1953, pp. 60, 63, accepts the use of the elephant, with a slight reservation inevitable in the study of so much archaeological material. In an article entitled '*The Prehistoric Climate of Baluchistan and the Indus Valley*' published in the *American Anthropologist*, vol. 63, no. 2, Part 1, April, 1961, pp. 265ff., R. L. Raikes and R. H. Dyson, Jr, argue that the climatic conditions of that region are not materially different today from those of the past, and that the elephant (p. 276) "has never been reported west of the Central Provinces in India, although a more western extension in earlier times cannot be ruled out. At the same time the extent of the Indus Civilization makes the importation of these animals from its periphery a perfectly reasonable possibility." The question of the climate is problematical, but the domestication of the elephant does not seem to be disputed.

<sup>3</sup> Piggott, loc. cit.

<sup>4</sup> S. K. Chatterji in '*History and Culture of the Indian People*', vol. I, *The Vedic*

abounded in that region.<sup>1</sup> Assyrian records, too, tell much the same story. Tiglath Pileser I (c. 1100 B.C.) killed ten elephants and took four alive in the Haran region, in the middle Euphrates, not very far from the scene of the hunt of Thothmes III.<sup>2</sup> Elephants were kept in the menagerie of Ashur-nasir-pal at Kalhu in the first half of the 9th century B.C.<sup>3</sup> The Black Obelisk of Shalmaneser II, dating from about the middle of that century, mentions both ivory and elephant skins among the articles of tribute from Yakin and Adini near the head of the Persian Gulf.<sup>4</sup> If not a native of those parts, the elephant may possibly have been imported from India, where it was already serving man in various ways. Another statement on the same monument includes living elephants among the items of tribute from the land of Musri. As these elephants must have been domesticated, scholars have believed that they were somehow obtained from India.<sup>5</sup> And if elephants once abounded around the southern shores of the Caspian, the Aryans — at least some of them — might have known the animal even before they came to India. The elephant disappeared from Western Asia perhaps owing to the destruction of its environment by man, and also his insatiable appetite for ivory.<sup>6</sup>

The elephant was once widely distributed in China.<sup>7</sup> The *Yu-Kung*, dating from fairly early in the first millennium B.C., speaks of the 'country of docile elephants'<sup>8</sup>, in present Southern Honan. The name indicates not the mere presence of the elephant in Central China, but even its domestication.<sup>9</sup> The state of Ch'u undoubtedly kept domesticated elephants.<sup>10</sup> They were certainly used in battle between the states of Wu and Ch'u in the later part of the sixth century B.C.<sup>11</sup>, though they did not find a permanent place in Chinese

<sup>1</sup> Ibid., p. 304.

<sup>2</sup> E. A. W. Budge and L. W. King, *Annals of the Kings of Assyria*, pp. 85, 86.

<sup>3</sup> A. T. Olmstead, *JAOS.*, 38, p. 250.

<sup>4</sup> C. W. Bishop, *The Elephant and its ivory in Ancient China*, *JAOS.*, 41, p. 291.

<sup>5</sup> C. W. Bishop, *op. cit.*, p. 292.

<sup>6</sup> Arrian, *Anabasis*, Bk. 3, ch. 8, records the presence of an Indian contingent with fifteen elephants at Gaugamela in 331 B.C. The disappearance of the elephant is attested by the march of Alexander through Western Asia, where he did not come across any wild elephants.

<sup>7</sup> A. A. Macdonell, *The Origin and Early History of Chess*, *JRAS.*, 1898, p. 131, n. 1.

<sup>8</sup> C. W. Bishop, *op. cit.*, p. 299.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid.

<sup>11</sup> P. Albert Tschèpe, *Histoire du Royaume de Tch'ou* (Changhai, 1903), p. 263 and n. 5; *JRAS.*, 1898, P. 131, n. 1; *JAOS.*, 41, p. 302.



warfare, as they were rapidly becoming scarce; their extinction was complete in the Yangtse valley — their last resort in China — before the close of the fourth century B.C.<sup>1</sup>

The *Cambridge History of India*<sup>2</sup> says that the elephant appears in the *Rgveda* as a wild beast, *mrga*, with a hand, *hastin*, while the later texts call it *hastin* only, 'a sign that the novelty of the animal had worn away'. When the authors of the *Cambridge History* wrote, little was known about the older Indus Civilization, whose later discovery necessitated the rewriting of India's ancient history and fresh explanations for various so called Vedic and Hindu practices. If the Aryans were the people responsible for the destruction of the Indus cities<sup>3</sup>, they must have learned much in the process, as is demonstrated by the evidence of recent excavations in India.<sup>4</sup> It was natural for the earliest Aryans in India to be struck by the novelty of the elephant. Even Nadir Shah, in comparatively modern times, was equally impressed, and refused to ride an elephant when invited to do so by the Mughal emperor. The elephant is a novelty even today, in India as well as abroad. Who would not stop, to watch one in the streets? Its use was always confined to kings and the nobility. But the novelty of the animal would not have deterred the Aryans from making use of it, if they were at all sensitive to previous example and precept. Even the word *mrga* need not imply 'wild'; a mere assumption of Roth<sup>5</sup> became axiomatic for later writers who refused to look around themselves, inside and outside India. Various other explanations can equally plausibly be given for the word. It may simply mean an 'animal'; it may imply a distinction between the wild and domesticated elephants; it may be no more than a poetic term. *Parvatagiri* used for a mountain in the *Rgveda*, does not mean that mountains were unknown to the Aryans.<sup>6</sup> The word *mrga* also

<sup>1</sup> Ibid., p. 303.

<sup>2</sup> *CHI.*, vol. I, p. 81; cf. Whitney, *JAOS.*, III, p. 312; *Vedic Index*, II, p. 501, says that 'there is no trace of its use in war'. Is it reasonable to ask whether the inhabitants of the Indus drove an elephant here and there to scare away an enemy? Though direct evidence is lacking, it is not utterly improbable. Recent writers on early Indian warfare have failed to take note of the elephant's domestication in the Indus Civilization. Thus for the Vedic period, P. C. Chakravarti, *The Art of War in Ancient India*, 1941, p. 47, and B. K. Majumdar, *The Military System in Ancient India*, p. 1960, p. 16, repeat only the earlier authorities. Dikshitar, *War in Ancient India*, 1948, p. 167, admits the use of elephants in war in the *Rgvedic* period, though he does not say a word about the Indus Valley.

<sup>3</sup> Wheeler, *Ancient India*, no. 3, 1947, p. 82; Piggott, op. cit., pp. 261ff.

<sup>4</sup> G. R. Sharma, *The Excavations at Kauśāmbī* (1957-59), 1960, pp. 6-10.

<sup>5</sup> *Vedic Index*, II, p. 171-172.

means 'an elephant characterized by particular marks' in Sanskrit literature.<sup>1</sup>

The elephant is mentioned in the *Rgveda*<sup>2</sup> as *mrga*, *hastin* and *vāraṇa*. RV. X. 40, 4 describes hunters following wild elephants, possibly to capture them. And RV. IV. 4, 1, thus addresses Agni: ... "proceed like a king attended by his followers on his elephant (*ibha*): thou art the scatterer (of thy foes): following the swift-moving host consume the Rākṣasas with thy fiercest flames".<sup>3</sup> Sāyaṇa, Wilson and Geldner rightly take *ibha* to signify an elephant, its usual meaning in Sanskrit literature. The passage is significant as presaging the shape of things to come; the elephant makes its debut as a royal mount in the Vedic literature; and if the context proves anything, the venue is the field of battle.

RV. IX. 57, 3 compares Soma to a well disciplined and obedient king of the elephants.<sup>4</sup> The reference clearly points to the taming and training of the elephant. A very obscure verse of the *Rgveda*<sup>5</sup> seems to speak of 'two mad elephants bending their forequarters and smiting the foe'. If Wilson's translation of the difficult passage be correct, here is another explicit proof of the use of elephants in war.

The Aryan speciality was the chariot, which swept away all opposition like an avalanche. Yet, we suggest that the use of the elephant was not impossible in the *Rgvedic* period as hitherto assumed, contrary to evidence literary and archaeological. It would be difficult to explain the supposed Aryan indifference towards the elephant throughout the five hundred years or more of *Rgvedic* composition, specially if we recall its domestication by the people of the Indus valley. The animal was caught at some hazard, but tamed without much difficulty; it must have been occasionally used in some engagements — not in large numbers, of course — though its efficacy on the field of battle was yet far from established. If there are no more references to prove the point, we must remember the nature of Indian literature and the non-Aryan associations of

<sup>1</sup> 'One of the three classes of elephants', Monier Williams, *Sanskrit Dictionary*.

<sup>2</sup> RV. 1, 64, 7; IV. 16, 14; VIII. 33, 8.

<sup>3</sup> RV. IV. 4, 1, *yāhi rājevāmavāh ibhena*, etc.; cf. U. N. Ghoshal, *Kingship in the Rgveda*, *IHQ.*, 20, 1944, p. 37.

<sup>4</sup> RV. IX. 57, 3, *ibho rājeva suvrataḥ*; Geldner, *HOS.*, vol. 35, p. 40, inaccurately renders it as 'folgsamer Königselefant'. Cf. P. S. Sastri, *The Imagery of the Rgveda*, *ABORI.*, vol. 29, p. 168.

<sup>5</sup> RV. X. 106, 6, *sṛṇyeva jarbhari turpharītū naito-śeva turphari parpharikā* etc.; cf. Dikshitar, *op. cit.*, p. 167. Another *Rgvedic* passage, VIII. 45, 5, may probably refer to the use of the elephant in war, if the word *apsaḥ*, as explained by Sāyaṇa,

the animal, and negative evidence is at best only hypothetical, at worst utterly misleading. The word *caturāṅga*<sup>1</sup> in RV. x. 92, 11, refers to the human body; the epithet was later applied to the four-fold army.

A certain hymn of the *Atharva Veda*<sup>2</sup> was entitled by Weber 'Taming of a wild elephant'. The splendour of the animal and its superior position are described; verse 6 tells us that the elephant has become chief of all the pleasant beasts to ride.<sup>3</sup> It starts as a wild beast before it is caught and trained, and is rarely, if ever, bred in captivity. If, therefore, the early Aryans described it even as a wild beast — such as it remains today — it by no means follows that they had not tamed or trained it. In modern India, it is a sign of ill omen for its owner, if a tame she-elephant gives birth to a calf. In the *Atharva Veda*, we are on more familiar ground. One passage tells us how flies anger an elephant<sup>4</sup>; and another describes how 'the elephant strains foot with foot of the she-elephant'<sup>5</sup>, a possible reference to the capture of males with the help of female elephants. AV. IX. 3, 17 speaks of a hall or house, presumably raised on posts, standing on the ground with feet like those of a female elephant. The simile was obviously inspired by the usual sight of the tireless elephant standing not far from the poet's residence. All these references are evidence of a thorough familiarity and association with the animal; it was captured, tamed, used and studied. A question one might ask here pertinently is whether or not the *Atharva Veda* records many traditions even older than the Aryans.

The *Yajur Veda Samhitās*<sup>6</sup> refer to the elephant-keeper, *hastipa*, as a member of a regular profession. The *Vājasaneyi Samhitā* even mentions the sacrifice of elephants.<sup>7</sup> The *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*<sup>8</sup> describes the conquest and horse-sacrifice of Aṅga who gave away 'ten thousand elephants' and 'ten thousand female slaves' to the

<sup>1</sup> Its occurrence in the late tenth book may be significant.

<sup>2</sup> AV. III. 22.

<sup>3</sup> AV. III. 22, 6, *hastī mrgānām suśadāmatīṣṭhāvānbabhūva hi*. Cf. Griffith, *The Hymns of the Atharva Veda*, vol. I, Sec. Ed., 1916, p. 116.

<sup>4</sup> AV. IV. 36, 9, . . . *hastinam maśakā iva*.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid., VI. 70, 2, *yathā hastī hastinyāḥ padena padamudyuje*.

<sup>6</sup> VS. XXX. 11; TS. III. 4, 9, 1; cf. *CHI.*, vol. I, p. 137.

<sup>7</sup> VS. XXIV. 29. The elephant is also mentioned in TS. V. 5, 11, 1; MS. III. 14, 8; PB. VI. 8, 8; XXIII. 13, 2; AB. VI. 27, 2; ŚB. III. 1, 3, 4; Jaim. Up. Br. III. 22, 1.

<sup>8</sup> AR. VIII. 22.

Brāhmaṇas. It speaks also of Bharata Dauḥṣanti as going round conquering and performing the *aśvamedha*, in which he gave away 'beasts black with white tusks, covered with golden trappings'.<sup>1</sup> These elephants were most probably used in war and seized, together with the female slaves, from the worsted enemy. The *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* also gives us an idea of the animal's exemplary obedience; the elephant comes by itself, when bidden by the voice.<sup>2</sup> The *Sāma Vidhāna Brāhmaṇa*<sup>3</sup> mentions elephants among the four divisions of the army.

The *Chāndogya Upaniṣad*<sup>4</sup> talks of cows and horses, elephants and gold, slaves, wives, fields and houses, in terms connoting wealth and status.

The elephant was already used in warfare in the time of Ktesias.<sup>5</sup> The *Nikāyas* and the Epics likewise point to the early use of elephants in war. The Buddhist and the Epic tradition of the fighting elephant must have owed something to earlier antiquity; the absence of direct and more explicit references to the use of elephants in war in the later Vedic literature is doubtless due to the character of that literature; there was not much room in the Brāhmaṇas or the Upaniṣads for discussing the arms of the army or the dispositions of battle.

<sup>1</sup> Ibid., VIII. 23.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., IV. 1.

<sup>3</sup> SVB. III. 6, 11, *hastyaśvarathapadātayaḥ*. The *Adbhuta Brāhmaṇa* uses the word *gaja* for the elephant, see *Vedic Index*, s.v.

<sup>4</sup> *Chāndogya Upaniṣad*, VII. 24, 2; cf. *Kaṭha Up.* I. 1, 23, *bahūn paśūn hasti-hiraṇyamaśvān*.

<sup>5</sup> *Vedic Index*, II, p. 501.

## THE ACCOUNT OF THE YAVANAS IN THE *YUGA-PURĀṆA*

By D. C. SIRCAR

STUDENTS OF EARLY Indian history are aware that the *Yuga-purāṇa* section of the *Gārgī-saṁhitā* contains an account of the Yavanas or Indo-Bactrian Greeks, important because it speaks of a Yavana invasion of Puṣpapura (i.e. the city of Pāṭaliputra, the capital of the Mauryas) and some other areas apparently forming parts of the Maurya empire, and assigns it to a date shortly after Śāliśūka who was a descendant of Aśoka and flourished about 200 B.C.<sup>1</sup> So the Yavanas invaded Pāṭaliputra not long before the Brāhmaṇa general Puṣyamitra killed his master, the last Maurya king Bṛhadratha, and occupied the Maurya throne about 185 B.C. There can be little doubt that the success of the Greeks against the Mauryas is associated with the dynastic revolution, and that the rise of Puṣyamitra was due to the Greek occupation of Maurya territories.

There are five manuscripts of the *Yuga-purāṇa* section referring to the Yavanas:

- (1) A MS. in the Asiatic Society, Calcutta. Cf. K. P. Jayaswal in *JBORS.*, Vol. XIV, pp. 400 ff., notes; D. R. Mankad in *JUPHS.*, Vol. XX, 1947, pp. 32-48; also *Yugapurāṇam*, Vallabhvidyanagar, pp. 25 ff., notes.
- (2) A MS. in the Banaras Sanskrit College (now Vārāṇasī Sanskrit University). Cf. K. P. Jayaswal, *loc. cit.*; D. R. Mankad, *loc. cit.*
- (3) A MS. in the possession of D. R. Mankad. Cf. D. R. Mankad, *loc. cit.*
- (4) A MS. noticed by H. Kern (now lost). Cf. H. Kern, *The Brhatsaṁhitā of Varāhamihira*, Bibliotheca Indica, 1864-65, Introduction, pp. 32-40; K. P. Jayaswal, *loc. cit.*; D. R. Mankad, *loc. cit.*
- (5) A MS. in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris. Cf. K. P. Jayaswal, *JBORS.*, Vol. XV, pp. 129 ff.; D. R. Mankad, *loc. cit.*

Many writers, especially those who have dealt with the history of the Indo-Bactrian Greeks, have tried to use the information

<sup>1</sup> A section in six lines (3 *Anuṣṭubh* stanzas) immediately before the reference to the Yavanas describes Śāliśūka (cf. *JBORS.*, Vol. XIV, p. 401). See V. A. Smith, *Early History of India*, 1924, p. 228, note 1.

supplied by the *Yuga-purāṇa*.<sup>1</sup> But, the language of the stanzas in the *Yuga-purāṇa* being often corrupt, there is no unanimity about their interpretation. There are also variants in the reading of some passages and, sometimes one variant has been accepted by some scholars and another by others. A few commentators have resorted to wild guesses.

The lines of the *Yuga-purāṇa* referring to the Yavanas are in the prophetic style of the Purāṇas. They are in two groups separated by 13 lines describing the condition of the people in the Kali age.<sup>2</sup> The two sub-sections, marked as A and B, are quoted below:

## A

- 1 Tataḥ Sāketam = ākramya Pañcālān = Mathurāṁ<sup>3</sup> tathā |
- 2 Yavanā duṣṭa-<sup>4</sup>vikrāntāḥ<sup>5</sup> prāpsyanti Kusumadhvajam<sup>6</sup> ||
- 3 Tataḥ Puṣpapure prāpte kardame<sup>7</sup> prathite hite<sup>8</sup> |
- 4 ākulā viṣayāḥ sarve bhaviṣyanti na saṁśayaḥ ||
- 5 <sup>9</sup>śastra-druma-<sup>10</sup>mahāyuddham tad = bhaviṣyati paścimam ||

## B

- 1 <sup>11</sup>Dhamamīta-tayā<sup>12</sup> vṛddhā janam bhokṣanti<sup>13</sup> nirbhayāḥ |
- 2 Yavanā<sup>14</sup> kṣāpayiṣyanti<sup>15</sup> nagare<sup>16</sup> pañca<sup>17</sup> pārthivā<sup>18</sup> ||

<sup>1</sup> Cf., besides references to the notices of the manuscripts cited above, A. Cunningham, *Coins of Alexander's Successors in the East*, pp. 262-62; E. J. Rapson, *Ancient India*, pp. 131-32; K. H. Dhruva, *JBORS.*, Vol. XVI, pp. 18 ff.; V. A. Smith, *Early History of India*, 4th ed., p. 228 and note 1; H. C. Raychaudhuri, *Political History of Ancient India*, 6th edition, pp. 386, etc.; W. W. Tarn, *Greeks in Bactria and India*, pp. 452 ff.; D. C. Sircar in *Calcutta Review*, April, 1943, pp. 39-42, and in *The Age of Imperial Unity, (The History and Culture of the Indian People, Vol. II)*, ed. R. C. Majumdar, pp. 106-07; A. N. Lahiri, *IHQ.*, Vol. XXXIII, pp. 40 ff.; A. K. Narain, *The Indo-Greeks*, pp. 174 ff.; etc.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *JBORS.*, Vol. XIV, pp. 402-03.

<sup>3</sup> Kern — Pañcālān = Mathurāṁ; other MSS. — Pañcālā Māthurā.

<sup>4</sup> Asiatic Society and Kern — Yavanā duṣṭa<sup>o</sup>; Bibliothèque Nationale — *evanā yuṣṭa<sup>o</sup>*; Mankad — Yavanās = ca su<sup>o</sup>.

<sup>5</sup> Mankad — vikrāntāḥ; other MSS. — vikrāntā.

<sup>6</sup> Asiatic Society and Bibliothèque Nationale — dhvajā; other MSS. — dhvajam.

<sup>7</sup> Bibliothèque Nationale — kardama<sup>o</sup>; other MSS. — kardame.

<sup>8</sup> Bibliothèque Nationale — hate.

<sup>9</sup> This line has not been quoted from Kern's manuscript.

<sup>10</sup> Asiatic Society and Banaras Sanskrit College — śaduma; Bibliothèque Nationale — śastraduma; Mankad — śastra-druma.

<sup>11</sup> This line and the following one have not been quoted from Kern's manuscript.

<sup>12</sup> Asiatic Society and Banaras Sanskrit College — Dhamamīta-tamā; Bibliothèque Nationale — Dharmamīta-tayā; Mankad — dharmamīta-tamā. Mankad refers also to the reading *Dharma-mīta-tacā*, though it is not clear where he got it.

<sup>13</sup> Asiatic Society and Banaras Sanskrit College — bhokṣanti; Bibliothèque Nationale — mokṣanti; Mankad — bhoṣyeti.

<sup>14</sup> Bibliothèque Nationale — Pañcālā; other MSS. — Yavanā.

<sup>15</sup> Asiatic Society and Banaras Sanskrit College — jñāpayiṣyati; Bibliothèque Nationale — jñāpayiṣyanti. Mankad's manuscript seems to have kṣāpayiṣyanti though he has attributed this reading wrongly to other manuscripts. Cf. the same mistake in Narain's *The Indo-Greeks*, p. 178.

<sup>16</sup> This reading is found only in the Bibliothèque Nationale manuscript. See note 17 below.

<sup>17</sup> Kern — naṣyeraṇ ca; Asiatic Society and Banaras Sanskrit College — naṣarē yaṁ ca; Mankad — nagareḥ pañca; Bibliothèque Nationale — nagare yaṁ ca.

<sup>18</sup> Mankad — pārthivā; other MSS. — pārthivāḥ.



## B—continued

- 3 Madhyadeśe<sup>1</sup> na sthāsyanti Yavanā<sup>2</sup> yuddha-durmadāḥ<sup>3</sup> |  
 4 teṣāṃ = anyōnya-sambhāvād<sup>4</sup> = bhaviṣyati<sup>5</sup> na saṁśayaḥ ||  
 5 ātma-cakr-ōtthitaṁ ghoraṁ yuddhaṁ parama-dāruṇaṁ<sup>6</sup> ||  
 6 Tato yuga-vaśāt = teṣāṁ Yavanānāṁ parikṣaye<sup>7</sup> |  
 7 Sakete<sup>8</sup> sapta rājāno bhaviṣyanti<sup>9</sup> mahā-balāḥ ||

It will be seen from the lines quoted above and the indication of the variant readings in the footnotes (1) that some of the passages are the same in all the MSS. (cf. line 4 of A) (2) some are grammatically wrong or contain a palpable error in all the MSS. (cf. lines 1 and 7 of B) and (3) some others are grammatically correct in some MSS. (or in a single MS.) but wrong elsewhere (cf. lines 2 and 6 of B). The wisest policy in dealing with the text would therefore be to accept the readings grammatically correct and emend the faulty readings to the smallest extent possible, in order to make good sense.

Line 1 of A as found in Kern's MS. is grammatically correct and means, 'then, having occupied (or invaded) [the city of] Sāketa, [the country of] Pañcāla and [the city of] Mathurā', or 'then, having occupied (or invaded) [the cities of] Sāketa and Mathurā from Pañcāla'. The invaders are the Yavanas as indicated in line 2 of A. It is interesting in this connection to note that Patañjali's *Mahābhāṣya* refers to the Yavana invasion of Sāketa during the lifetime of the author,<sup>10</sup> who was apparently a contemporary of Puṣyamitra Śuṅga (c. 185–150 B.C.) since the *Mahābhāṣya* refers to its author as having officiated at a sacrifice performed by Puṣyamitra.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Asiatic Society and Bibliothèque Nationale — *madhye*; Kern and Banaras Sanskrit College — *madhyarṇ*; Mankad — *Madhya*°.

<sup>2</sup> Bibliothèque Nationale — *Pañcālā*°; other MSS. — *Yavanā*°.

<sup>3</sup> Mankad — *durmadāḥ*; other MSS. — *durmadā*.

<sup>4</sup> Banaras Sanskrit College — *sambhāva*; Bibliothèque Nationale — *sambhavo*; Kern and Asiatic Society — *sambhāvā*; Mankad — *sambhāvād*°.

<sup>5</sup> Kern — *bhaviṣyanti*; other MSS. — *bhaviṣyati*.

<sup>6</sup> Asiatic Society — *dāruṇaṁ*; other MSS. — *dāruṇam*.

<sup>7</sup> Asiatic Society and Bibliothèque Nationale — *parikṣayam*; Kern, Mankad and Banaras Sanskrit College — *parikṣaye*.

<sup>8</sup> Asiatic Society, Kern and Bibliothèque Nationale — *sakete*; Banaras Sanskrit College — *sakete*; Mankad — *saketo*.

<sup>9</sup> Mankad — *bhaviṣyati*; other MSS. — *bhaviṣyanti*.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. *aruṇad* = *Yavanaḥ Sāketam* (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VII, p. 267; *Mahābhāṣya* on Pāṇini, III, ii, 111).

<sup>11</sup> Cf. *iha Puṣyamitraṁ yājyāmaḥ* (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. I, p. 300; *Mahābhāṣya* on Pāṇini, III, ii, 123).

Sāketa and Mathurā were respectively the capitals of the Uttara-Kosala and Sūrasena *janapadas* of the Maurya empire, Pañcāla being another of its *janapadas*. While leading an expedition against the Maurya empire the Yavanas may have invaded those three territories more or less simultaneously, or the Pañcāla country may have been occupied by them first and Sāketa and Mathurā later from their bases in Pañcāla. With the decline of Maurya imperial authority after Aśoka (c. 269–232 B.C.), the provincial rulers at Sāketa, the Pañcāla capital Ahicchatrā and Mathurā appear to have been ruling semi-independently.

The reading *Pañcālā Māthurā tathā* in line 1 of A requires the correction *Māthurās = tathā* to yield the sense, 'then the Pañcālas (i.e. the Pañcāla people) and the Māthuras (i.e. the people of Mathurā) having invaded Sāketa'. The mention of the Yavanas in line 2 of A would of course suggest that the joint invaders of Sāketa were the Pañcālas, Māthuras and Yavanas. The defects of this interpretation are that: (1) it involves a correction in the text; (2) the *Mahābhāṣya* at least corroborates the Yavana invasion of Sāketa while the invasion of Sāketa by the Pañcālas and Māthuras is as yet unknown from any other source; and (3) as will be seen below, the whole section appears to deal with the exploits of the Yavanas alone, the Māthuras never being mentioned again, while the Pañcālas are mentioned in two corrupt passages of a single MS. which, moreover, do not clearly suggest their alliance with the Yavanas.

One may take *Mathurām* from Kern's manuscript and *Pañcālā*° from the others, read *Pañcālā Mathurām* and suggest that Sāketa and Mathurā were invaded jointly by the Yavanas and Pañcālas. But the position of the word *tathā* makes that interpretation not quite happy. We shall also see below that the passage *Madhyadeśe na sthāsyanti* (line 3 of B) suits the Yavanas and not the Pañcālas and Māthuras and that the reference to the *ātma-cakr-otthita yuddha* (line 5 of B) tallies very well with the known facts of the history of the Indo-Bactrian Greeks, while there is as yet no evidence regarding an alliance of the Yavanas with the Pañcālas or with the Pañcālas and Māthuras and a subsequent war between the two or among the three peoples. Moreover, the last verse of the section (line 6–7 of B) speaks of the *parikṣaya*, the disappearance [from Madhyadeśa] (or destruction) of the Yavanas alone.

Line 2 of A as found in most of the MSS. means, "the viciously valiant Yavanas will reach (or seize) Kusumadhvaja". The reading



*Yavanās* = *ca su-vikrāntāḥ* is also grammatically correct; but the word *ca* would probably suggest the invaders to have been the Yavanas together with the Pañcālas or with the Pañcālas and Māthuras and the defects of that interpretation have been noted. Kusumadhvaja may have been the name of an unknown locality on the Yavanas' way from the west to Puṣpapura (i.e. Pāṭaliputra) mentioned in line 3 of A or it is the same as Kusumapura or Puṣpapura, 'the flower-city', i.e. the city of Pāṭaliputra, the capital of the Mauryas.

Kusumadhvaja (literally, 'one having the flower-banner') is sometimes used as a name of the Indian god of Love whose commoner appellation is Minadhvaja or Makaradhvaja. We have also reference to a ruler probably as *puṣpa-dhvaja-lāñchana*, 'one having the banner and crest of flower.'<sup>1</sup> Thus Kusumadhvaja in the *Yuga-purāṇa* may have been primarily the name of a deity and secondarily that of the locality where he was worshipped. The name 'flower-city' applied to Pāṭaliputra may suggest that 'the deity with the flower-banner' was its guardian. If so, his shrine may have been at the gate of the city. If the variant °*dhvajā* is supposed to indicate that the feminine form of the expression was intended, the reference may be to a female divinity. The association of the name *Pāṭaliputra* or *Pāṭaliputra*<sup>2</sup> with a Yakṣi named Pāṭali or Pāṭali is not inconceivable.<sup>3</sup>

Line 3 of A, which is grammatically correct and is the same in four out of the five MSS., may be differently interpreted. It may be: *tataḥ kardame hite prathite Puṣpapure prāpte*, 'then the celebrated Puṣpapura, set in mud (i.e. encircled by mud-walls), having been reached (or seized) [by the Yavanas]', or *tataḥ prāpte prathite Puṣpapure kardame hite*, 'then the celebrated Puṣpapura, reached (or seized) [by the Yavanas], having been set [by them] in mud (i.e. encircled by them in mud-walls)'. If *hi* and *te* are read separately, *te* will have to be taken with *viṣayāḥ* in line 4 of A. The second alternative interpretation would then be unsuitable. The reading *hate* is not quite satisfactory. The word *prathita*, taken above to mean 'celebrated' and as an adjective of Puṣpapura, could also be an adjective of *kardama* in the sense of 'spread out' or 'stretched'. Since *prathite* is somewhat distant from *Puṣpapure*, this appears to

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 132, text line 1 and note.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *ibid.*, Vol. XXXII, pp. 222, text line 16; p. 224, text line 11.

<sup>3</sup> For traditions regarding the origin of the name, Cf. Malalasekera, *Dictionary of Pali Proper Names*, s.v.; Altekar and Mishra, *Kumrahar Excavations*, p. 14; etc.

be better, though it does not change the position to any considerable extent.

The first of the alternative interpretations of the passage quoted above is, however, defective since it involves tautology, the arrival at or the seizure of Kusumadhvaja, if regarded as identical with Puṣpapura, being already mentioned in line 2 of A. But it is quite satisfactory if Kusumadhvaja is regarded as different from Puṣpapura or if the verb *prāp* is taken to mean 'to reach' in the first case and 'to seize' in the second or if we have *hite kardame prāpte*, 'the spread out mud (i.e. mud-walls) having been occupied'. The difference between the two interpretations quoted at first is that the first would suggest that the city of Puṣpapura was surrounded by mud-walls before the Yavanas occupied it while the second would indicate that the Yavanas erected mud-walls for defence in addition to the original city-walls.

Line 4 of A is also grammatically correct and found in all the MSS. There is no difficulty about its meaning. It says, "there is no doubt that all the provinces [of the Puṣpapura empire] will be in disorder [from the Yavana occupation of Puṣpapura or from Puṣpapura being cut off by the Yavanas from the rest of the empire by fresh mud-walls]".

In line 5 of A, the first four *akṣaras* said to read *śastra-druma* in one MS. appear to be erroneous, though it is difficult to suggest any satisfactory emendation. But *paścimaṁ* and not *pañcamāṁ*, in the same line is certainly the correct reading. As it stands, the line means, "then, there will be subsequently a great war (or battle) with missiles and trees". A reference to fighting with trees as weapons appears to be unsatisfactory. An emendation *śastra-bhūma*° for *śastra-druma*° would imply that the war or battle in question was characterized by a variety of weapons used. Whatever was the nature of the struggle, apparently the Yavana occupation of the Maurya capital was followed by a fierce battle or a war, lasting for some time, between the invaders and the Maurya forces.

Lines 1-2 of B, which have not been quoted from Kern's manuscript, are the most difficult to tackle in the whole section on the Yavanas. Most of the words have variant readings and, even if many of them are intelligible, a suitable meaning for the lines as a whole is not quite apparent.

The verb in line 1 of B is *mokṣanti* (sic for *mokṣyanti*) or *bhokṣanti* (sic for *bhokṣyanti*), while its object is *janam* in all the MSS. in which the stanza occurs. The passage *mokṣyanti janam* would mean '[they]

will liberate the people' while *bhokṣyanti janam* seems to mean '[they] will eat up (i.e. oppress) the people'. But the epithet *nirbhayāḥ* 'fearless', applied to the subject of the verb, suits *bhokṣyanti* better than *mokṣyanti* since 'they will oppress the people fearlessly' appears to yield a sense more suitable to the context than 'they will liberate the people fearlessly'. It has also to be noticed that the letter *bh* is found in the word in three manuscripts in place of *m* found only in one. The subject of the verb is of course the invaders of Puṣpapura.

In the expression *dhamamītatamā* or *dharmamītatayā* of the same line, *dhamamīta* contains the words *dhama* (blowing) and *mīta* (dead) which together as a compound expression do not yield any satisfactory sense. But, since this awkward expression is found at least in two MSS. out of the four containing the verse, this must be the intended reading and not *dharmamīta* (one who died in the cause of *dharmā*) or *dharmabhīta* (one fearful of *dharmā*) where clearly the less familiar has been superseded by the familiar. If this is accepted, the apparently meaningless *Dhamamīta* should better be regarded as the Indianized form of a personal name like the Greek *Demetrius*, in the absence of any easier explanation. As *tama* (equivalent to *tamas*) means 'darkness', *Dhamamīta-tamā* as a compound word would not yield any suitable sense. But *taya* means 'a protector'<sup>1</sup> or 'protection' and *Dhamamīta-tayā*<sup>o</sup>, (even though this reading is not very happy, because of its want of the simplicity which characterizes the language of the section) may mean 'those who have their protector in *Dhamamīta*', i.e. 'those under the protection of *Dhamamīta*', *vriddhā*<sup>o</sup> in the same context meaning 'those who have become prosperous'. Thus *Dhamamīta-tayā vriddhā*<sup>o</sup> together would mean 'those who have prospered on account of the protection of *Dhamamīta* or *Demetrius*'. We may also suggest the emendation *Dhamamīta-tayā-(d\*)*<sup>o</sup>, 'as a result of the protection offered by *Dhamamīta*', or *Dhamamīta-taya-vriddhā*<sup>o</sup> as a compound word in the same sense, or *Dhamamīta-ta (na)-yā (d\*)*<sup>o</sup> or *Dhamamīta-taya (naya)*<sup>o</sup>, 'as a result of *Dhamamīta*'s [good] policy'.

This would suggest that the Indo-Bactrian Greeks who invaded Puṣpapura were led by *Demetrius* (c. 190–165 B.C.), son of *Euthydemus* (c. 215–190 B.C.), that they prospered under his leadership and that they oppressed the people of Puṣpapura and those of the adjoining areas in their sphere of influence.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Kirātārjuniya*, XV, 20, and Mallinātha's commentary thereon.

In line 2 of B, *nagare* of the Bibliothèque Nationale MS. and *paṁca* of Mankad's MS. must be regarded as the correct readings. Nagara was one of the well-known names of the city of Puṣpapura or Pāṭaliputra.<sup>1</sup> Thus the line apparently refers to some act of (or, relating to) the foreign invaders of Puṣpapura in that city.

The verb in this line is found as *jñāpayiṣyanti*, '[they] will announce', and possibly also as *kṣāpayiṣyanti*, '[they] will burn', in one MS. Though *kṣāpayiṣyanti* involves the addition of a *visarga* after the previous word *Yavanā* or *Pañcālā*, considering the reference to the oppression of the people by the invaders in the previous line and the possibility of confusion between *kṣ* and *jñ* in the Nāgarī alphabet, *kṣāpayiṣyanti*, maybe the intended reading, as 'they will burn', appears to offer an idea more suitable to the context than 'they will announce', especially when we cannot guess what the announcement could have been. The previous word is *Yavanā* or *Pañcālā*. If the first reading is preferred, we have of course to correct it to *Yavanāḥ* before *kṣāpayiṣyanti*. But, if the second word is preferred, it would better be corrected to *Pañcālān*. The last word of this line is *pārthivā* or *pārthivāḥ*; a satisfactory emendation would be *pārthivān*.

So we are inclined to emend line 2 of B either as *Yavanāḥ kṣāpayiṣyanti Nagare paṁca pārthivān*, "the Yavanas will burn [alive] five [captured] rulers [of different areas] at Nagara (Pāṭaliputra)", or as *Pañcālān kṣāpayiṣyanti Nagare paṁca pārthivān*, "[the invaders] will burn [alive] five [captured] Pañcāla rulers at Nagara." The first interpretation would mean the burning of five unspecified captured rulers by the Greeks in occupation of Puṣpapura while the second would suggest that the five rulers all belonged to the Pañcāla country. But, as will be seen, the first alternative is preferable.

Another possible emendation of the line is *Yavanān kṣāpayiṣyanti Nagare paṁca pārthivāḥ* meaning either 'five [allied Indian] rulers will burn the Yavanas at Nagara' or 'the [Indian] rulers will burn five Yavanas at Nagara'. This emendation offers the reason why the Yavanas left Madhyadeśa as mentioned in the next line (line 3 of B) and also brings Puṣyamitra Śuṅga into the picture as one of the Indian rulers who burnt the Yavanas at Pāṭaliputra. This would then refer to the re-occupation of Pāṭaliputra by Puṣyamitra and his allies. But, if this emendation is accepted, the expression *Dhamamīta-tayā vṛiddhā* in the previous line (line 1 of B) must be

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Nāgarakāḥ*, *Nāgarikāḥ* and *Nāgarikyāḥ* explained respectively as *Pāṭaliputrakāḥ*, *Pāṭaliputrikāḥ* and *Pāṭaliputrikīyāḥ* in the *Jayamaṅgalā* commentary on Vātsyāyana's *Kāmasūtra*, VI, 5, 30; 9, 24.



the subject of the verb *bhokṣyanti* in the sense of '[the people, i.e. the Yavanas] who will be prosperous under Dhamamīta's protection'. This, is not very happy considering the simple Puranic style in which the section is written.

While most MSS. read *Yavanā°* in both lines 2 and 3 of B, one MS. has *Pañcālā°* in both places. As will be seen below, the context shows that *Yavanā°* is the correct word in line 3 of B and not *Pañcālā°*. It may, however, be argued that an author would not repeat the same word (*Yavanā°*) in two consecutive lines (lines 2 and 3 of B) and so one may consider it better to have the name of the Pañcālas in line 2 of B. But, even then, the language of the line can scarcely be so interpreted as to suggest that the Pañcālas were allied with the Yavanas. It is difficult to believe in the present state of our knowledge that the Pañcālas have been described as having prospered under the protection of Dhamamīta or Demetrius. Thus the acceptance of the mention of the Pañcālas in line 2 of B would not help us in preferring the reading *Pañcālā°* to *Pañcālān* in line 1 of A. Besides, if the subject of the verb *bhokṣyanti* in line 1 of B is to be traced in line 2 of B, *Yavanāḥ* in that line is a more suitable reading than *Pañcālān*.

The atrocities perpetrated by the Yavanas in India are well-known to the Puranic writers. Cf.

Bhaviṣyant = iha Yavanā dharmataḥ kāmātō = rthataḥ |  
 n = aiva mūrdh-ābhiṣiktās = tē bhaviṣyanti narādhipāḥ ||  
 Yuga-doṣa-durācārā bhaviṣyanti nṛpās = tu tē |  
 strī-bāla-go-vadhaṁ kṛtvā hatvā c = aiva parasparam ||  
 bhokṣyanti Kali-śeṣe tu vasudhāṁ pārthivās=tathā ||<sup>1</sup>

"The Yavanas will be [present] here for [the propagation of their] religion, [the enjoyment of] pleasures and [the accumulation of] wealth. They will certainly not be crowned kings. The said rulers will perform evil deeds under the influence of the age (i.e. the Kali age). And killing women, children and cattle and slaughtering one another, those rulers will rule the earth in the concluding part of the Kali [age]."<sup>2</sup> The idea contained in the passage *hatvā c = aiva parasparam* here is remarkably corroborated by lines 4-5 of B to be discussed below.

<sup>1</sup> Pargiter, *Dynasties of the Kali Age*, p. 56 and note 4.

<sup>2</sup> That the Greeks perpetrated such atrocities is also known from other instances. Cf., e.g., the massacre of the Mālavas by Alexander's soldiers — 'sparing neither man, woman, nor child' (Smith, *Early History of India*, 1924, p. 101).

There is not much difficulty with line 3 of B since *madhyam deśe* or *madhye deśa* in it is clearly a mistake for *Madhyadeśe* that occurs in one MS. The line means, "the Yavanas, ferocious in battle, will not stay in Madhyadeśa". According to Manu (II, 21), Madhyadeśa was the name of the central tracts of Northern India extending from the Eastern U.P. to the Eastern Punjab, while Buddhist works include Bihar in Madhyadeśa.<sup>1</sup> Since the section under review speaks first of the Yavana occupation of Puṣpapura or Pāṭaliputra in Bihar and then of their departure from Madhyadeśa, the name Madhyadeśa has no doubt been used here in its wider Buddhist sense.

One MS. mentions *Pañcālā*<sup>o</sup> instead of the *Yavana*<sup>o</sup> of the others. Since, however, the Pañcāla country lay within Madhyadeśa, to say that 'the Pañcālas will not stay in Madhyadeśa' does not appear to fit the context. But, since the Yavanas came to Madhyadeśa from Uttarāpatha lying beyond the Eastern Punjab, to say that 'they will leave Madhyadeśa' would mean that they would return to their own land in Uttarāpatha. This interpretation also seems to be clearly supported by lines 4 and 5 of B discussed below.

In line 4 of B, the most important expression is *anyonya-saṁbhāva*. The word *bhāva* means 'feeling' and *saṁbhāva* 'intense feeling'. Thus *anyōnya-saṁbhāva* would mean 'intense feeling against one another'. The correct reading would be *teṣām = anyonya-saṁbhāvo bhaviṣyati* or *\*sāmbhāvā bhaviṣyanti*, 'there will be intense feeling or [ill] feelings against one another among themselves', or *\*saṁbhāvād = bhaviṣyati*, 'out of the intense ill-feeling among themselves, there will be [yuddha or war mentioned in line 5 of B]'.<sup>2</sup>

Line 5 of B means, "there will be the most fierce [and] terrible war arising in their own circle, realm or land". The internecine struggle among the Indo-Bactrian Greeks, between the partisans of Demetrius and those of Eucratides (c. 175-150 B.C.) is well known.<sup>2</sup> The reason why the Yavanas 'will' leave Madhyadeśa, i.e. 'will' go back to their own land in Uttarāpatha, is explained in lines 4 and 5 of B as the great struggle that 'will' develop in their own country as a result of ill feeling among themselves.

There is no difficulty with line 6 of B which means, 'then the disappearance [from Madhyadeśa] (or destruction) of the said Yavanas

<sup>1</sup> Kajaṅgala (modern Rajmahal on the eastern border of Bihar) was regarded by the Buddhists as the eastern limit of Madhyadeśa (N. L. Dey, *Geog. Dict.*, s.v.).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Camb. Hist. Ind.*, Vol. I, pp. 446 ff.; Smith, *Early History of India*, 1924, pp. 237-38.

resulting from the influence of the age (i.e. time, or the evil effects of the Kali age)'. Here the reference is to the disappearance or destruction of the Yavanas alone and no mention is made of the Pañcālas or of the Māthuras. So no alliance of the Yavanas with the Pañcālas or with the Pañcālas and Māthuras should be inferred from lines 1-2 of A discussed above.

In line 7 of B, *Sakete* and its variants are clearly wrong and we have to read *Sākete*, 'at Sāketa', this city being already mentioned in line 1 of A as subdued by the Yavanas. It is thus not unnatural for the author to tell what happened to Sāketa after the disappearance of the Yavanas and he says, "there will be seven mighty kings at Sāketa". This means that seven kings successively ruled at Sāketa after the end of the Yavana occupation.

We now repeat with a translation the verses in the versions accepted by us, with our small emendations wherever absolutely necessary.

## TEXT

## A

Tataḥ Sāketam=ākramya Pañcālān=Mathurām tathā |  
Yavanā duṣṭa-vikrāntāḥ prāpsyanti Kusumadhvajam || 1  
Tataḥ Puṣpapure prāpte kardame prathite hite |  
ākulā viṣayāḥ sarve bhaviṣyanti na saṁśayaḥ ||  
śāstra-dru(bhū)ma-mahāyuddham tad=bhaviṣyati paścimam || 2

## B

Dhamamīta-tayā vṛddhā janāṁ bhokṣa(kṣya)nti nirbhayāḥ |  
Yavanā(h\*) kṣāpayiṣyanti Nagare pañca pāṛthivā(n\*) || 1  
Madhyadeśe na sthāsyanti Yavanā Yuddha-durmadāḥ |  
teṣāṁ = anonya-saṁbhāvād = bhaviṣyati na saṁśayaḥ ||  
ātma-cakr-otthitaṁ ghorāṁ yuddham parama-dāruṇam || 2  
Tato yuga-vaśāt = teṣāṁ Yavanānāṁ prīkṣaye |  
Sa(Sā)kete sapta rājāno bhayānaka-mā-balāḥ || 3

## TRANSLATION

## A

1. Then, having occupied [the city of] Sāketa, [the country of] Pañcāla and [the city of] Mathurā (or, having occupied [the cities of] Sāketa and Mathurā from [their bases in] Pañcāla), the viciously valiant Yavanas will reach (or seize) Kusumadhvaja.
2. Then, when the occupied [city of] Puṣpapura will be set in extended mud (i.e. spread out mud-walls) (or, when the stretched out mud or mud-wall at Puṣpapura will be reached or occupied),

all the provinces [of the Maurya empire having its capital at Puṣṣapapura] will be undoubtedly in [complete] disorder. Then, there will be subsequently a great war (or battle) in which a large number of weapons will be used.

### B

1. Prospering under the protection of Dhamamīta (Demetrius), the Yavanas will eat up (i.e. oppress) the people [and] will burn [alive] five rulers at Nagara (i.e. Pāṭalīputra).
2. The Yavanas, fierce in fight, will not stay in Madhyadeśa. As a result of strong mutual [ill] feelings [developing] amongst them, there will no doubt be an extremely terrible [and] fierce war arising in their own realm.
3. Then, the disappearance of the said Yavanas resulting under the influence of the age (i.e. time, or under the evil effects of the Kali age), there will be seven mighty kings at Sāketa.

A passage in Bāṇa-bhaṭṭa's *Harṣacarita*, refers to the murder of the last Maurya king Bṛhadratha by his general Puṣyamitra, who succeeded his master on the throne of Pāṭalīputra. G. Bühler's quotation of the passage and his translation of it run as follows:

*pratijñā-durbalaṁ ca bala-darśana-vyapadeśa-darśit-āśeṣa-sainyāḥ senānīr = anāryo Mauryaṁ Bṛhadrathaṁ pipeṣa Puṣyamitraḥ svāminam*, "And reviewing the whole army under the pretext of showing him his forces, the mean general Puṣyamitra crushed his master Bṛhadratha, the Maurya, who was weak of purpose."<sup>1</sup>

It has to be admitted that most of the MSS. of the *Harṣacarita* read *prajñā-durbala* ('one who is weak in intelligence', i.e. 'a foolish person') in place of *pratijñā-durbala*. Apparently, *prajñā-durbala*, more easily intelligible to readers than *pratijñā-durbala* which cannot be understood without a knowledge of the nature of Bṛhadratha's *pratijñā*, was substituted for the latter by the commentators. So one may surmise the supercession of the unfamiliar by the familiar and *pratijñā-durbala* may be the original reading. The expression has been translated by Bühler as 'one weak of purpose',<sup>2</sup> though its correct translation appears to be 'one weak in respect of his agreement, vow, assertion or declaration', i.e. 'one too weak to keep a

<sup>1</sup> *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. II, p. 363.

<sup>2</sup> The expression has also been translated as 'one weak in keeping his coronation oath' (Smith, *Early History of India*, 1924, p. 208, note 1).



promise'. The translation of *bala*, in the passage *bala-darśana-vyapadeśa-darśit-āśeṣa-sainya*, as 'forces' seems also wrong since showing 'the army' on the pretext of reviewing 'the forces' is not quite happy. The word *bala* here certainly means 'strength'<sup>1</sup> which fits the context, especially because *bala* was required by Bṛhadratha, described as *durbala* [in respect of his *pratijñā*].

We have no means to determine what *pratijñā* of Bṛhadratha is referred to by Bāṇa-bhaṭṭa. But it can be easily imagined that, when the Greeks occupied the Maurya capital and the people of the city and its neighbourhood were being oppressed by the cruel foreigners, Bṛhadratha, who failed to defend his capital, protect his subjects from oppression by the invaders, and drive the foreigners out of his capital and other parts of his empire, became quite unpopular with his subjects and that this was the reason behind the ease with which his general succeeded in disposing of him. If Puṣyamitra had then gained even a little success against the foreigners, it would have made him popular. In such circumstances, it is possible to explain the meaning of *pratijñā-durbala* in an intelligible way.

It appears that Puṣyamitra showed eagerness to fight the foreigners but his master was not hopeful of success against the Greeks,<sup>2</sup> even though he had declared his intention to expel the invaders at an earlier stage. Probably he was now living in a temporary capital more or less safe from the Greeks and hesitated to provoke the foreigner to attack it. If Bṛhadratha did not feel strong enough to attack the Greeks, Puṣyamitra might have tried to convince him of the strength of his forces by parading the entire Maurya army before him. If the army were then to express displeasure with the king and appreciation of their general in any way, it would be very easy for the latter to dispose of his master on the parade ground itself.

So we are inclined to translate the above passage as follows:

"And, as he was parading the entire [Maurya] army [before Bṛhadratha] on the pretext of exhibiting its strength [in order to

<sup>1</sup> Cowell and Thomas take *bala* in the sense of 'his (Puṣyamitra's) power' (*The Harṣacarita of Bāṇa*, p. 193).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. the popularity and unpopularity respectively of Candragupta and Rāmagupta in the story of the *Devicandragupta*. While Candragupta was eager to fight with the Śakas, Rāmagupta was in favour of making peace with the foreigners at any cost. It is interesting to note that Rāmagupta was likewise murdered by Candragupta without any difficulty. See *The Classical Age*, pp. 17-18. In his reference to the Candragupta-Rāmagupta story Bāṇa apparently depended on the *Devicandragupta*. There was probably another drama on the Puṣyamitra-Bṛhadratha episode, which was available to Bāṇa.

convince the king of the prowess of his forces], the ignoble general Puṣyamitra crushed his master Bṛhadratha, the Maurya, who was [too] weak to keep his promise [to fight or repulse the Yavanas or to save or rescue his subjects from the oppression of the Yavanas].”

There is little doubt that Puṣyamitra succeeded in freeing the Maurya capital from the Yavana invaders as also Mathurā, Sāketa, the Pāñcāla country and other areas of Madhyadeśa occupied by the Yavanas. In this he must have received considerable help from the turn of events. The fierce struggle between the partisans of Demetrius and Eucratides must have drawn most of the Indo-Bactrian warriors to Uttarāpatha from all parts of Madhyadeśa and this made Puṣyamitra's task easier, though he appears to have taken many years in reoccupying the entire Madhyadeśa. We are reminded of the struggle among Alexander's lieutenants after their master's death in 323 B.C., which drew the Greek combatants stationed in the subjugated areas of North-Western Bhāratavarṣa to Western Asia and resulted in the loss of those regions to the Greek empire.<sup>1</sup> Thus history repeated itself in the liberation of Madhyadeśa from Indo-Bactrian subjugation in the first half of the second century B.C.

According to a tradition in the *Stūpāvadāna* of *Bodhisattvādāna-kalpalatā*, king Milinda (Menander) built a *stūpa* at Pāṭaligrāma (Pāṭaliputra). This seems to refer to a second Yavana invasion of the capital of Magadha under Menander's leadership about the close of the second century B.C., which led to the transference of the Śuṅga capital from Pāṭaliputra to Vidiśā and the alliance between Śuṅga Bhāgabhadra and Yavana Antialcidas against Menander.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Camb. Hist. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 429.

# SĀMANTA — ITS VARYING SIGNIFICANCE IN ANCIENT INDIA

By LALLANJI GOPAL

IN THE EPIGRAPHIC and literary records of medieval Hindu India the term *sāmanta* is used to mean vassals and nobles. Thus the *sāmantas* were vitally connected with the structure of Indian society. But, in spite of its importance, the term has not received a full-length study.<sup>1</sup>

According to its derivation the term *sāmanta* is an adjective and means 'being on all sides', 'neighbouring' or 'bordering'. In earlier works we find it used in this sense.<sup>2</sup>

It also occurs in connection with the rules on boundary disputes.<sup>3</sup> Almost all these rules require boundary disputes to be decided in the first instance by the *sāmantas*. It has been supposed that the *sāmanta* was the feudal lord and his right to decide a boundary dispute arose out of his ownership of land. But such an interpretation does not stand scrutiny. Firstly, the traditional interpretation of the term is against such a view. The commentary of Kullūka on Manu<sup>4</sup> and that of Vijñāneśvara on Yājñavalkya<sup>5</sup> very clearly maintain that *sāmanta* means the villagers living on the four sides.<sup>6</sup> The rules themselves show that the word stands for the neighbouring cultivators,<sup>7</sup> who were given the power to decide such cases, because being men on the spot they were better able to verify

<sup>1</sup> Among the most important studies of the term is that of V. S. Agrawala — *Harṣacarita: Eka Sāhskṛtika Adhyayana*, pp. 217–220.

<sup>2</sup> In *Kātyāyana śrautasūtra* (1.7.25) it is used in connection with rites performed on all sides of the sacrificial fire (*āvṛttisāmanṭeṣu pradakṣiṇam*). In Pali works *sāmanto* means 'neighbouring', 'bordering', or 'in the neighbourhood', 'closely'.

<sup>3</sup> *Vasiṣṭha Dharma sūtra* (XVI, 13–15), *Arthaśāstra* (III, 8, 9), *Manu* (VIII, 258–263), *Yājñavalkya* (II, 150–152), *Nārada* (XI, 2–4), *Kātyāyana* (737, 743–745, 749–751); *Pañcatantra* (of Pūrṇabhadra, pp. 188–89) and *Agnipurāṇa* (CCLVII, 1–3).

<sup>4</sup> VIII, 258—*samantabhavāḥ sāmāntāstadvāsinaḥ*; also VIII, 259, 262, 263.

<sup>5</sup> II, 150—*samantādbhavāḥ sāmāntāḥ catasṛṣu dikṣvanantaram grāmādayaste ca pratisīman vyavasthitāḥ*.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. texts quoted by the *Mitākṣarā* on Yājñ, II, 150 — '*grāmo grāmasya sāmāntaḥ kṣetro kṣetrasya kīrtitaṃ/grāmaḥ grāhasya nirdiṣṭaṃ samantātparibhāvayet* ||' and '*ye tatra pūrvaṃ sāmāntāḥ pascāddeśāntaram gatāḥ | tanmūlatvāt tute maulā ṛṣibhiḥ parikīrtitāḥ* ||'.

<sup>7</sup> The rule that the boundary should be settled by an even number of *sāmantas*, four, eight or ten and inhabitants of the same village (Yājñ, II, 152; *Manu*, VIII, 258) ill suits the position of a *sāmanta* as the single lord of his feudal estate.

the boundaries with the help of boundary marks.<sup>1</sup> If *sāmanta* was the feudal lord with some abiding claim on the land it is not clear why he should be given a very slender right to decide such issues,<sup>2</sup> still less how he could be punished for a wrong judgment.<sup>3</sup>

In an inscription of 592 A.D. a certain king Viṣṇuṣeṇa granted to a community of merchants his *sthitipātra*, containing important rules that formed the law of the land. The 34th rule<sup>4</sup> of this list reads: *sthāvaravyavahāre sāmantaīḥ avasitasya vinayo rupakāśatam aṣṭot-taram*. Dr. V. S. Agrawala<sup>5</sup> takes this to mean that the final settlement of land cases was beyond the jurisdiction of *sāmantas*, who were liable to a fine of 108 silver coins if they disposed of them. But the sentence has to be interpreted in the light of the traditional rules on boundary disputes as expounded in the legal texts. Here also the cultivators from the neighbouring villages have been authorized to decide such cases; the rule empowers them even to impose a fine of 108 silver coins.<sup>6</sup> This inscription would thus show that *sāmanta* in the sense of 'neighbouring villagers' was still in use up to a very late period. The compilers of the Smṛtis use the term in this sense, and under their influence it retained the meaning even when some others also had been evolved.

<sup>1</sup> *Manusmṛti* (VIII, 258–60) indicates that *sāmantas* mean the neighbouring cultivators. The rule aims at relying at first on the evidence of those who are nearer to the field, and in their absence to widen the scope of men included in the term *sāmanta*.

<sup>2</sup> *Vasiṣṭha Dharma sūtra* (XVI, 13–15 cf. *Śaṅkhalikhita* q. in *Vivādaratnākara*, p. 208) shows that the right of the *sāmantas* was of a very elementary nature and there were many others who had a stronger jurisdiction in such cases. The *sāmantas* could settle cases only as long as they had not grown complicated and a just judgment could be reached on the basis of spot inspection — *Nārada*, XI, 11; *Yājñi*, II, 153.

<sup>3</sup> *Nārada*, XI, 7; *Manu*, VIII, 263.

<sup>4</sup> *JRASB.*, XVI, p. 115.

<sup>5</sup> *Harṣacarita*, p. 219.

<sup>6</sup> This suits better the construction of the phrase '*sāmantaīḥ avasitasya vinayo*'. Moreover, the next rule, apparently related to it, runs: '*śarhavadane rūpakāḥ caṭuṣpañcāśat*'. According to the interpretation suggested by Dr. Agrawala about the case, the fine was only 54 silver coins. It is not quite understandable why a *sāmanta* should make decisions in cases on landed property if he had no jurisdiction and why the two claimants should come to him for settlement. A happier sense is indicated by the second interpretation. In that case it would mean that a fine of 54 silver coins only was to be paid by the party that had itself invited arbitration in a boundary dispute but was defeated. If the cultivator had not asked for the arbitration, it indicated that he had false title to the land and so had to pay the double of 54 silver coins. Further, the rules that follow these two refer to fines or sums to be paid by the parties in a dispute. It would appear that the rule 34 was also of this nature.

Another reference often taken to support the theory that the word *sāmanta* means a feudal lord is the rule allowing *jñātisāmantadhanikāḥ* in respective order the right of priority in the purchase of land.<sup>1</sup> But there is no reason to suppose that the right of *sāmantas* refers to the claims of feudal lords. It seems that as land was the basis of the economy of the country it was intended that outsiders should not intrude and disturb the economy of an autonomous and corporate village by laying their hands on the fields. The rule grants priority in buying land to blood relations and then to neighbouring villagers, and only on their not buying the land was it to be sold to an outsider.

Mr. Ellis<sup>2</sup> takes *sāmanta* in a verse quoted by the *Mitākṣarā*<sup>3</sup> to mean a feudal lord and not a neighbour. He quotes a commentary known as *Tarkapañcanīyam* composed in the 19th century which uses the word in the sense of king or lord. He further argues that in this passage the use of the word in the sense of neighbour would be manifest tautology. But to base any theory on so late a work, while disregarding earlier commentaries like the *Mitākṣarā*, is quite contrary to the canons of history. The point raised by Mr. Ellis has been explained by the *Mitākṣarā*.<sup>4</sup> The word *sāmanta* has been used not because a *sāmanta* had any claim to the ownership of the land necessitating his assent, but because he had to know of any change in the ownership of lands adjoining his own to enable him to decide justly any boundary dispute arising in the future.

It has again been contended that the word *sāmanta* in the seventh book of the *Arthaśāstra*<sup>5</sup> should be translated not as a 'king'<sup>6</sup> but as 'independent noble'.<sup>7</sup> We have seen above that in the *Arthaśāstra*

<sup>1</sup> *Artha*, III, 9. Also Vyāsa, Bhāradvāja and Bṛhaspati q. in *Vyavahāranirṇaya*, p. 355 f.

<sup>2</sup> *Replies*, p. 23 ff. q. by A. Appadorai — *Economic Conditions in Southern India*, p. 326 ff.

<sup>3</sup> On *Yājñ*, II, 114; 'Land is conveyed by six formalities, by the assent of townsmen, of kindred, of neighbours and of heirs, and by the delivery of gold and water.'

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid*. The *Mitākṣarā* says that these are not absolutely necessary formalities of a sale, but they are recommended for the sake of greater caution and convenience, and that the assent of the villagers is to be secured for the publication of the transaction of sale, as a text says that acceptance, particularly of immovables, should be public, so that the consent of neighbours should be secured to obviate any dispute concerning the boundary.

<sup>5</sup> The word *sāmanta* is not confined to the seventh book of the *Arthaśāstra* — *Index Verborum to the Arthaśāstra*, Vol. III pp. 264–66.

<sup>6</sup> The commentary by T. Ganapati Sastri (Vol. II, pp. 272, 278, 301; III, p. 87; also I, pp. 48, 85; II, pp. 210, 219, as also the one contained in the edition of Jolly and Schmidt (Vol. II, pp. 1, 2 etc.) explain *sāmanta* as the king of the neighbouring territory.

<sup>7</sup> Pran Nath — *Economic condition of Ancient India*, p. 132 f.



the term *sāmanta* signifies a neighbouring cultivator.<sup>1</sup> There are instances<sup>2</sup> in which the forts and ambassadors of a *sāmanta* are spoken of and a *sāmanta* appears as a power to be reckoned with. But a study of the inscriptions of Aśoka would show that *sāmanta* in such contexts means a neighbouring king.<sup>3</sup> There is no warrant for the view that *sāmanta* denoted a vassal or noble in the Mauryan period. The term *sāmanta* when applied to villagers had the sense of a cultivator from a neighbouring village and when used in connection with kingdoms denoted a neighbouring king.

The *maṇḍala* theory in the *Arthaśāstra* is also taken to suggest that India was then divided into many petty estates. But this theory is a piece of political speculation<sup>4</sup> and not a mirror of the existing political condition.<sup>5</sup> Hence it cannot be construed to show that the *sāmantas* were owners of petty estates and not rulers of kingdoms.

The term *sāmanta* appears at several places in the *Nitisāra* of Kāmandaka<sup>6</sup> assigned by Winternitz<sup>7</sup> and Jolly<sup>8</sup> to the 8th century A.D. But the general opinion of scholars, in view of recent researches, favours an earlier date for the work.<sup>9</sup> Moreover, the work cannot

<sup>1</sup> Cf. also *Artha*, III, 8, 9.

<sup>2</sup> *Artha*, I, 10, 13, 17, 18, 21; V, 4, 6; VI, 2; VIII, 4; IX, 3, 6, 7; XII, 4; XIII, 3, 4.

<sup>3</sup> In the second Rock Edict (*CIL*, I, p. 184 ff.) Aśoka refers to his benevolent deeds in the domains of Antiochus and other kings who were his *sāmantas* (*ye vā pi tesa Aṁtiyokasa sāmantā rājāno*). The Girnar version of the second Rock Edict has '*sāmipā rājāno*' for *sāmantā rājāno* (*Ibid.*, p. 2, 1.3; *Select Inscriptions*, p. 18, L. 3; f. n. 3). The kings of southern India and the Greek kingdoms to the west of India have been mentioned in the Second Rock Edict as *pracantas* (*pratyantas*) (*Select Inscriptions*, p. 18, 1.2). In the thirteenth Rock Edict Aśoka speaks of his *dharmaviṣaya* in these neighbouring territories (*aṁteṣu*) (*Ibid.*, p. 37, 1.8). The second separate Kalinga Edict is addressed to the people of the *aṁta* territories (*Ibid.*, p. 46, 11.2, 4, 15). The first Pillar Edict refers to *aṁtamahāmātā* or the *mahāmātrās* for the frontier kingdoms (*Ibid.*, p. 55 f.). It is apparent that the terms *sāmantas*, *antas* and *pratyantas* are similar in import and alike mean 'neighbouring kings'.

<sup>4</sup> The fact that any state, whatever its extent, may have an unfriendly neighbouring state which it tries to win or appease has been developed into the *maṇḍala* theory, permuting all possible combinations of relations with neighbouring states, some friendly others antagonistic.

<sup>5</sup> *Artha*, VI, 2; cf. *Manu*, VII, 155-157; *Kāmandaka*, Chs. VIII, XII, XIII; *Mbh.*, XIII, 59, 70-71; *Viṣṇudharmottara*, II, 145, 11-15; *Agni*, CCXL, 4-5; CCXXIII, 21-22; *Sarasvatīvilāsa*, pp. 30-41; *Mit. on Yājñi*, I, 345; *Nitivākyamṛta*, p. 318 f. It is not possible to decide which of these descriptions reflects the conditions of its time.

<sup>6</sup> (Ed. J. Vidyasagar) XI, 6; XIII, 29; XIV, 22; XV, 51.

<sup>7</sup> *GIL.*, III, p. 526 q. in the *Classical Age*, p. 300.

<sup>8</sup> Introduction to the *Kauṭaliya Arthaśāstra*, pp. 6-8.

<sup>9</sup> R. L. Mitra, Preface pp. 1, 4h; T. Ganapati Sastri, Preface pp. v-vi. K. P. Jayaswal — *History of India*, p. 118 f.; *JBORS.*, XVIII, pp. 37-39; *IA.*, 1918 p. 159; V R. R. Dikshitar — *The Gupta Polity*, pp. 12-15.

be taken to represent the condition of its time, for in the introductory verses the author describes it as a scholar's compilation based primarily on the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya, whose views are collected with convenient titles.<sup>1</sup> So it would not be safe to think that Kāmandaka has given his impression of the working of the different institutions of his own time. Thus evidently the word *sāmanta*, as used by him, has the same sense as that assigned to it in the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya.<sup>2</sup> It appears, however, that towards the close of the 5th century the word came to be used also for a subordinate ruler. The Kasare plates of Sendraka Nikumbhāllaśakti dated in 482 A.D.<sup>3</sup> are addressed among others to *rājasāmantaviśayabhogika*. The reference in the Devagiri plates<sup>4</sup> of Yuvarāja Devavarman is more explicit. In it the Kadamba King Kṛṣṇavarman (c. 475–485 A.D.) is described as *sāmantarājaviśeṣaratna*. Indeed inscriptions containing orders addressed to *sāmantas* and others as well as those describing the feet of the king as coloured by the pollen of the flowers or rays of the gems in the crowns of *sāmantas* are numerous and cover a very long range of dates. Besides, there are some other inscriptions in which a certain *sāmanta* appears as the *dūtaka* or executor of the grant.<sup>5</sup> Though these references may, when read in the light of other inscriptions, afford valuable material, in themselves they do not contain much to remove the mist surrounding the term *sāmanta*. There are, however, certain other inscriptions in which certain *sāmanta* kings record their own grants. The earliest inscriptions of this type recovered so far are those of Dhruvasena I (525–545 A.D.)<sup>6</sup> of the Maitraka dynasty. The number mentioning

<sup>1</sup> I, 2–8.

<sup>2</sup> In Bhartṛhari (*Śatakatrayādi-Subhāṣitasāṅgraha*, *Vairāgya* p. 66 f., verse 169) also *sāmanta* in '*Bhṛtaḥ kaṣṭamaho mahānsa nṛpatiḥ sāmantaacakram ca tai*' refers to the kings circling a kingdom according to the theory of *maṇḍalas*.

<sup>3</sup> *EL.*, XXVIII, 34 (B).

<sup>4</sup> *IA.*, VII, p. 33.

<sup>5</sup> In the Gunaighar inscription of Vainyagupta dated 507 A.D. (*Select Inscriptions*, p. 333 f.) the executor Mahārāja Śrīmahāsāmanta Vijayasena probably entrusted the business to the Kumārāmātya Revajjasvāmin and two other officers. Also Valabhi plate of Dharasena II dated somewhere between 571 and 588 A.D. (*JBBRAS.*, I, p. 24), Coras plates of Dhruvasena III of 633 A.D. (*Ibid.*, I, 17p. 57) and Madhuban grant of Harṣavardhana (*EL.*, VII, 22. Also XXIII, 42A).

<sup>6</sup> Palitana Plate dated 525 A.D. — *EL.*, XI, 9 (p. 108); Kathiawad Plate — *EL.*, XVIII, p. 110.

Mahāsāmantarājas becomes quite considerable in the later period.<sup>1</sup> These inscriptions clearly employ the term *sāmanta* in the new sense. There may be some sense in a king claiming another king as his neighbour but none in a king calling himself a neighbour without indicating whose neighbour he was. By this time the term *sāmanta* had undergone a change of meaning, and indicated a state of subordination.<sup>2</sup>

Thus by a process of association the term *sāmanta*, which originally meant a neighbouring king, had come to be applied to those neighbouring kings who had been made subordinate.

There are facts, however, which show that these *sāmantas* were not petty nobles but rulers of considerable importance in their respective regions. Titles and terms indicating rulership are used.<sup>3</sup> Instances of grants of villages and revenues by *sāmantas*, a royal prerogative, make it clear that *sāmantas* when making such grants exercised their rights as rulers. It appears that when rulers were defeated and made *sāmantas* or subordinate kings their right to rule over their particular territories was not taken from them. They

<sup>1</sup> Sunaokalo plates of Mahāsāmanta Mahārāja Saṃganasiṃha (*EI.*, XI, p. 74) dated 540 A.D. In the Barabar Hill inscription of Anantavarman (*CII*, III, 48) he calls Śārdūlavarman one of his ancestors the *cūdāmaṇi* among *sāmantas*. Cf. Palitana plates dated 574 A.D. (*EI.*, XI, 2 p. 18) of Sāmanta-mahārāja Siṃhāditya; inscriptions of the Gūrjara kings of Nāndipurī (*Bhandarkar's list* Nos. 1209-1213); inscription of Mahāsāmanta Mahārāja Viṣṇuśeṇa (592 A.D.) and *Sāmanta* Avanti (605 or 676 A.D.) (*IHQ.*, XXV, pp. 287-291), Rohtasgadh seal matrix of Śrīmahāsāmanta Śaśāṅkadeva (*CII*, III, 78); Nirmand Plates of Mahāsāmanta Mahārāja Samudrasena (*ibid.*, 80).

<sup>2</sup> In his two copper plates from Midnapore (*JRASBL.*, XI, pp. 1-9) as well as the inscriptions of the Śailodbhaya kings of Orissa (*JAHRs.*, X, pp. 1-15) Śaśāṅka has been given full imperial titles. The Rohtasgadh seal indicates earlier times when Śaśāṅka was a subordinate ruler, no matter whether of Mahāsenagupta (*Classical Age*, p. 78) or of the Maukharis (*IHQ.*, XII, p. 457). The earlier rulers of the Maitraka family are referred to by the title of *mahāsāmanta mahārāja*. Sometime during the reign of Guhasena (556-567 A.D.) they discontinued the payment of allegiance to the Guptas. The Wala plates of the year 588 A.D. (*IA.*, VI, p. 11) mark the period of transition. Whereas in the text of the grant king Dharasena II is mentioned with his titles of *mahāsāmanta mahārāja* the royal signature towards the end of the plate contains the title of *mahādhirāja*. After some changes of fortune the dynasty emerges as completely sovereign under Dharasena IV, who ascended the throne in 644 A.D. This is indicated by the high title of *cakravartī* which he assumed.

<sup>3</sup> The title of *mahārāja* for *sāmantas* is quite common (*IA.*, VII, p. 33); *EI.*, XI, p. 74, p. 18, *CII*, III, 80). The Nirmand Plates (*ibid.*, 80) use *abhiṅkhyātānarapativāṃśajāḥ* for Mahāsāmanta Samudrasena. Inscriptions and literary works in describing the feet of a sovereign as touched by the heads of defeated rulers employ for the latter *nṛpa* and *sāmanta* without any discrimination — *EI.*, XVIII, 27; XXVIII, 3, 34 (A and B); XXII, 6; XVII, 21; XIII, 9; XII, 17; XII, 10; IX, 28; VII, 13; *Gupta Inscriptions*, 40. *Pañcatantra* (Ryder tr.), pp. 12, 351; *Ibid.*, p. 120 (Hertel p. 102 f.); *Raghu*, IX, 13; IV, 88; *Vāsavadattā* (Gray tr.), p. 47, *Harṣacarita* (tr.), p. 59. The Mundesvari inscription (*EI.*, IX, 41) uses *rājye* for the kingdom of Mahāsāmanta Mahārāja Udayasena.



retained all their rights, powers and functions as kings,<sup>1</sup> only with the difference that they had to acknowledge the suzerainty of the overlord.

It appears that such subordinate neighbouring kings were regarded as having a status equal to that of a governor and were often re-instated in the territory which they already possessed. It was natural that, with the inclusion of a *sāmanta's* territory into a conqueror's empire, he should be treated as an officer governing a part of that empire. In the inscriptions<sup>2</sup> the list of officers to whom the grants are addressed includes *sāmanta* together with *rājā* before *kumārāmātya*, *viṣayapati* and *bhogika*. These references suggest that the *sāmantas* were treated as the officers of the state. Their being addressed even before governors and other high officers of the state indicates their status.<sup>3</sup>

A *sāmanta* was thus a ruler distinct alike from a sovereign king and from a governor. His emblems and other paraphernalia indicated this dual position of superiority over appointed governors and subordination to the Emperor. The use of the *pañcamahāśabdas* (the sound of five musical instruments) was an honour awarded to subordinate rulers by the sovereign king to indicate their privileged status.<sup>4</sup> Probably there were specific banners, umbrellas and horse-crests for a *sāmanta*, which the *sāmanta* could use only with the permission of his suzerain.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> All those officers who are addressed in the grants of sovereign kings also find mention in the records of *Sāmanta* kings. Cf. the inscription of *Sāmanta* Viṣṇuśeṇa which contains a list of rules according to which he governed his subjects (*JRASB.*, XVI, p. 11 f.). These rules show that he exercised the same powers and had the same jurisdiction as any ruler might be expected to possess.

<sup>2</sup> Badakhimedi plates of Indravarman (*EL.*, XXIII, 13); Bugude plates of Mādhavarman (*EL.*, III, 6); Patiakella grant of Mahārāja Śivarāja (*EL.*, IX, 40); Kasare plates of Sendraka Nikumbhāllaśakti (*EL.*, XXVIII, 34 (B)); Tipperah grant of Lokanātha (*EL.*, XV, 19).

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *EL.*, XVIII, 7 — *Tatpādānūdhyaśrīśāmantanārāyaṇabhadrasyaudum-varikaviṣayasambhogakāle*.

<sup>4</sup> Baloda and Rajim grants of Tivaradeva (*EL.*, VII, 13; *CII.*, III, p. 294 ff.); Kasare plates of Sendraka Nikumbhāllaśakti and Ellora grant of Dantidurga. Cf. *EL.*, XXII, 15. Also *EL.*, XXVIII, 34 B; *EL.*, XXV, p. 25; Tiwarkhed Plate of Nannarāja (*EL.*, XI, 27 (p. 279)), Baudh grant of Raṇabhanjadeva (*EL.*, XI, 36 (B)) and Sankheda grants of Dadda IV Praśāntarāja (*EL.*, V, 5); *EL.*, XII, 13. Cf. *IA.*, IX, p. 126 — Vijayāditya Satyāśraya is said to have acquired for his father the tokens of the river Yamunā and the *pālidhvaja*, and the insignia of the *dhakkā* drum and the *mahāśabda*, and rubies and elephants...

<sup>5</sup> In a Devagiri inscription dated 600 A.D. Mahāsāmantādhipati Śāntivarman who had acquired the *pañcamahāśabdas* is said also to have employed the *Nandanavana* umbrella, the horse crest and the mirror banner (*EL.*, XI, p. 6). The inscription is undoubtedly spurious: But as it has nothing irreconcilable with the known history of the region for its true period (*EL.*, XI, pp. 3-4) the information may be utilized as it is in line with other references in the inscriptions of this period.

Dr. V. S. Agrawala<sup>1</sup> thinks that a *sāmanta* was a vassal enjoying an approximate annual income of one lac of silver *kārṣapaṇas*. He bases his opinion on the list given in the *Śukranīti*,<sup>2</sup> which he regards as a work of the Gupta period. The account of the *Śukranīti* would mean that the *sāmantas* manned the entire administration and possessed all the land in the country. But this is not the picture we form of the Gupta period from other sources. It seems that the *Śukranīti* is not a unitary work. It was revised from time to time and data from different periods are combined in it. The references to guns and gunpowder<sup>3</sup> would make it a very late work.<sup>4</sup> Moreover, the word *sāmanta* is found at least in three instances in the works of Kālidāsa.<sup>5</sup> The meaning assigned by Dr. Agrawala ill suits these references. The contexts show that the term means neighbouring kings who had been subdued and made to pay *kara*.<sup>6</sup> Kālidāsa thus seems to belong to the transitional period when the term *sāmanta* was coming to mean a subordinate ruler in place of a neighbouring king. The *Mānasāra* also presents a picture different from that envisaged by Dr. Agrawala. The nine ranks of kings enumerated in the *Mānasāra*<sup>7</sup> are the *cakravartin*, *mahārāja*, *narendra*, *pākṣaṇika*, *paṭṭadhara*, *maṇḍaleśa*, *paṭṭabhaj*, *prahāraka* and *astragraha*. *Sāmanta* does not find a place in this list, though if *sāmanta* meant to the author of the *Mānasāra* what it signified to Śukra he would have included it. If *sāmanta* meant at the time a neighbouring king then its omission from the *Manasāra* list is easily explained. Another negative argument of great importance is the omission of the term *sāmanta* from dictionaries compiled during this period. To Amarasimha *sāmanta* had no technical or special meaning to deserve a separate mention. The word *sāmanta*, however, does occur at one place in the Amarakośa: '*rājā tu prapaṭāśeṣasāmantaḥ syādadhiśvaraḥ cakravartī sārvaubhaumaḥ*...'<sup>8</sup> The context shows that here the *Amarakośa* mentions not a series of grades of rulership but two

<sup>1</sup> *Harṣacarita*, p. 219.

<sup>2</sup> I., 365-384. B. Prasad — *Theory of Government in Ancient India*, p. 252.

<sup>3</sup> IV, 7, 389-418.

<sup>4</sup> After writing this paper the author came to the conclusion that the *Śukranīti* was a work of the 19th century. His views are published in *BSOAS.*, xxv, 524-56, which see for earlier theories on the date of text. [Ed.]

<sup>5</sup> *Raghu*, V, 28; VI, 33; *Vikramorvaśī*, III, 19.

<sup>6</sup> The commentary of Mallinātha also derives the term *sāmantānām* as *samantādbhavanām rājñām*.

<sup>7</sup> XLII, 2-5 ff. The list also appears elsewhere in connection with the description of crowns (ch. XLIX), thrones (ch. XLV), etc.

<sup>8</sup> II, 8, 2.

types of rulers. A *cakravartī* is one who has defeated all kings and established his universal sovereignty: a *rājā* is one who has established his claim over his territory by defeating neighbouring kings. The meaning of *sāmanta* as neighbouring king has the sanction of the different commentaries on the *Amarakośa*.<sup>1</sup> The word cannot be traced in the *Anekārthasamuccaya* of Śāśvata, who has been assigned to a period about the end of the sixth and the beginning of the seventh century A.D.<sup>2</sup>

What was responsible for neighbouring kings being reduced to the status of subordinate kings and governors? I would ascribe it to the working of the peculiar Indian doctrine of *dharmavijaya*. This discouraged the annexation of a conquered territory but recommended the acceptance of subordination by the defeated king. It was not a principle of purely academic interest, but seems to have actually been followed.<sup>3</sup> This tendency is very old and deep-rooted in the Indian tradition. The word *samrāj* occurring several times in the *Rgveda*<sup>4</sup> implies a suzerain with many kings under him. The terms *rājya*, *sāmrajya*, *bhaujya*, *svārājya*, *vairājya*, *pāramasthya*, *māhārājya*, *ādhipatyā* and *svāvasya* in the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*<sup>5</sup> seem to refer to gradations of sovereignty. The *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*<sup>6</sup> describes the dominion of a *samrāt* as extending right up to the natural boundaries, up to the very ends. The description suggests that the *samrāt* exercised suzerainty and not actual administration over such a large dominion. This notion of an empire follows even from the descriptions of the details connected with the four royal sacrifices known as the *Aindra Mahābhiṣeka*, *Aśvamedha*, *Rājasūya* and *Vājapeya*.<sup>7</sup> These sacrifices suggest some claims of superiority by their performer. The *Śrauta sūtra* literature<sup>8</sup> also reveals the difference between *rājya* and *sāmrajya*.

The policy of *dharmavijaya* or *digvijaya* is to be compared with *lobhavijaya* or *asuravijaya*. The former type of conquest was not accompanied by territorial aggrandisement or the annihilation of

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Bhanuji Diksit (p. 447) — *Samlagno'nta ekadeśo'syāḥ samantāyāḥ svadeśavyavahitabhūmerime rājānaḥ, prajātā aśeṣāḥ sāmāntāḥ svadeśānantararājā yasya*.

<sup>2</sup> K. G. Oka in his Introduction p. vi.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. the observation of Sulaiman the Arab merchant — Elliot and Dowson Vol. I, p. 7.

<sup>4</sup> *Vedic Index*, II, 433.

<sup>5</sup> VII, 3, 14; VIII, 12, 4-5; VIII, 14, 2-3.

<sup>6</sup> VIII, 4, 1.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. *Aitareya Br.*, XXXIX. *Śatapatha Br.*, IX, 3, 4, 8; V, 1, 1, 3, 13-14.

<sup>8</sup> B. Prasad — *State in Ancient India*, p. 59f.

the conquered king, but only aimed at establishing a general suzerainty over powers subdued. The two *digvijayas* of Duryodhana and Yudhiṣṭhira described in the *Mahābhārata* did not result in the annexation of the defeated territories. The *Rājasūya* performed by Yudhiṣṭhira at the end of his conquest was attended by the kings acquiescing in subordination.<sup>1</sup>

A similar policy of *dhammavijaya* is advocated in the Buddhist texts. Kings accept the suzerainty of the righteous conqueror impelled by his piety and religious superiority. All other details resemble the Brahmanical view. Even according to the Buddhist theory the conquest and the consequent subordination are real. Here also the sovereign allows the subdued king to enjoy his territory as before.<sup>2</sup> The theory was evidently a norm from which there were many deviations,<sup>3</sup> but the principle of *dharmavijaya* was always there.<sup>4</sup>

Aśoka, in his inscriptions, detailed a policy of *dhammavijaya* which he enjoined his successors to follow.<sup>5</sup> His ideal of righteous conquest amounted to gaining influence in neighbouring lands by creating trust and bestowing happiness.<sup>6</sup> In Rock Edict XIII<sup>7</sup> Aśoka describes his *dhammavijaya* among his neighbouring States in terms of spreading his 'ordinances based upon the Law of Piety and his instruction in the law'. The Rock Edict II<sup>8</sup> refers to the healing arrangements made by Aśoka in these neighbouring countries.

This principle also received the sanction of the *Smṛtis*.<sup>9</sup> The *Arthaśāstra* differentiates between *dharmavijaya* and *lobhavijaya* or *asuravijaya*. A *dharmavijayī* was satisfied with mere obeisance or surrender on the part of the conquered.<sup>10</sup>

The theory finds elaborate expression in the works of Kālidāsa, who seems to regard universal dominion as the highest goal of

<sup>1</sup> *Mbh.*, II, 45. Also II, 25, 3; II, 5; XV, 6, 16; III, 25.

<sup>2</sup> *Digha*, III, p. 62f — *Yathābhuttaṇṇa bhuñjathā ti*.

<sup>3</sup> *Jātaka*, III, 13, 116, 153; V, 425.

<sup>4</sup> *Jātaka*, V, p. 316.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. reference to Śālisuka in the *Gārgīsamhitā* (*JBORS.*, IV, p. 261) — *sthāpayiṣyati mohātmā vijayaṃ nāma dhāmikam*. This ideal has to be interpreted in line with the Buddhist view of a *cakkavatti* described in the *Cakkavatti Sihanāda Sutta* as consisting of conquest not by the sword, but by righteousness — *Dialogues of the Buddha*, Part III, p. 59.

<sup>6</sup> Separate Kalinga Edict II — *Select Inscriptions*, p. 46.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 37.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 18.

<sup>9</sup> *Manu*, VII, 202; *Viṣṇu*, III, 30.

<sup>10</sup> *Artha*, XII, 1.

kingship. His *Raghuvamśa* and *Mālavikāgnimitra* describe the performance of the horse sacrifice. The *Raghuvamśa*<sup>1</sup> has a detailed account of the conquest of all regions at the hands of Raghu. But nowhere is Raghu said to have attempted the annexation of conquered territory. The passage in the *Raghuvamśa*,<sup>2</sup> stating that Raghu deprived Mahendra of his glory but did not rob him of his territory, though brief, is the best description of the policy of *dharmavijaya*.

This is not to imply that there were no instances of military conquest in ancient India. The Buddhist canonical works reveal the existence of four great kingdoms in the Buddha's time.<sup>3</sup> The growth of the Magadha empire reveals a gradual process of conquest and assimilation of different States into one unity. The *Purāṇas* in describing Mahāpadmananda as *sarvakṣatrāntaka* describe this change in Indian polity which, though enunciated by Magadhan powers in particular, was gradually adopted by a number of powerful kingdoms that arose in India in the subsequent centuries.

But references to the performance of *Āśvamedha* reveal that the original ideal of a paramount empire was always there. The *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*<sup>4</sup> enumerates kings who performed the *Āśvamedha* sacrifice. Puṣyamitra Śuṅga, who founded an empire on the ruins of the Maurya dynasty, is said to have performed two *Āśvamedha* sacrifices.<sup>5</sup> The Nanaghat Cave inscription of Nāganikā<sup>6</sup> refers to Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi as performing two such sacrifices though the account of one sacrifice has been lost. Other historical kings who performed these sacrifices are Pārāśariputra Sarvatāta,<sup>7</sup> Vāsiṣṭhiputra Śricāntamūla Ikṣvāku,<sup>8</sup> Śivaskandvarman Pallava,<sup>9</sup> Kṛṣṇavarman Kadamba,<sup>10</sup> Devavarman Śālaṅkāyana,<sup>11</sup> and the Vākāṭaka king Pravarasena.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Ch. IV.

<sup>2</sup> IV, 43.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Raychaudhuri — *Political History*, p. 199 ff.

<sup>4</sup> XIII, 5, 4, 1-23.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. *Senāpateḥ Puṣyamitrasya dviraśvamedhayājñāḥ* — *Select Inscriptions*, p. 96; *Mālavikāgnimitra*; *Harivamśa*, III, 2, 40; *Iha Puṣyamitraḥ yājñamāḥ* — Patañjali (*IA.*, 1872, p. 300).

<sup>6</sup> *Select Inscriptions*, p. 186 ff.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 91.

<sup>8</sup> *Age of Imperial Unity*, p. 224.

<sup>9</sup> *Select Inscriptions*, p. 437.

<sup>10</sup> *Classical Age*, p. 272.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 205.

<sup>12</sup> *Select Inscriptions*, pp. 407, 419.



The Nāga Kings also are said to have performed *Āśvamedha* sacrifices.<sup>1</sup> The Poona Plates of the Vākāṭaka queen Prabhāvatiguptā<sup>2</sup> and the *Āśvamedhaparākrama* coins of Samudragupta<sup>3</sup> clearly establish that Samudragupta also performed a horse-sacrifice.<sup>4</sup>

The Allahabad Pillar inscription<sup>5</sup> reveals Samudragupta as following this ideal. No doubt he uprooted many petty States in northern India and created a consolidated empire. But this policy of suppression was not applied in the case of the kings of southern India and of the five kingdoms and nine tribal territories located on the borders of his kingdom. Of these the inscription specifically calls the five kingdoms *pratyantas*. The relations of Samudragupta with certain foreign States on the border throw welcome light on the status of subordinate kings. These States are described as serving him by personal visits, offers of daughters in marriage and requests for charters confirming the possession of their territory. For defeated kings would appear to have been reinstated in their kingdoms by a royal charter. These charters did not create any new rulership. Whereas formerly a king ruled in his own right, as a subordinate he required a charter issued in his favour.

A study of the nature of the Gupta empire reveals that it was largely formed by States subdued in pursuance of the policy of righteous conquest. The Allahabad pillar inscription suggests that the Sanakānikas had been subordinated. But the Udayagiri cave inscription<sup>6</sup> records the grant of a cave by a certain Sanakānika Mahārāja. This shows that subordinate neighbouring States were allowed to exist. We find many ruling dynasties existing even within the boundaries of the Gupta empire.<sup>7</sup> In Malwa, for instance, ruled a dynasty to which belonged Jayavarman, Śiṃhavarman and Naravarman<sup>8</sup> and probably also Viśvavarman of the Gangdhar stone

<sup>1</sup> Ibid., p. 419.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., p. 412.

<sup>3</sup> Allan — *Gupta Coins*, p. 21 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Allan — *Gupta Coins*, p. xxxi and *JRAS.*, 1901, p. 102 for a seal and a stone figurine suggesting this *Āśvamedha*.

<sup>5</sup> *Select Inscriptions*, p. 254 ff.

<sup>6</sup> *Select Inscriptions*, p. 271.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. the picture in *Kālidāsa* — B. S. Upadhyaya — *India in Kālidāsa*, p. 114. It is this characteristic of the Gupta empire which Dr. B. Prasad (*State in Ancient India*, p. 285 ff.) describes by calling it a feudal-federal organization. But here the terms feudal and federal are to be used only in a restricted sense. The empire was a federal organization only in the sense that it comprised a number of states. Likewise the empire cannot properly be called feudal in character because *sāmantas* in India denoted a class of rulers and not of landlords.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid., p. 377 ff.

inscription<sup>1</sup> and Bandhuvvarman mentioned in the Mandasor stone inscription of Kumāragupta.<sup>2</sup> Again in the Bundelkhand region we find the dynasties of the Parivrājakas and the Uccakalpas ruling as subordinate kings. The brief notices of Yuan Chwang about the political status of the different States visited by him suggest that this form of empire had become the order of the day. He refers to several countries as having no independent rulers but as being dependencies of some other country.<sup>3</sup>

During the later years of Gupta rule the process seems to have been reversed. Now the governors, with the growth of their power, began claiming to be *sāmantarājas*.<sup>4</sup> The Maitrakas provide the most clear picture of this process of transformation. In the records of this dynasty its first two members have the title of *senāpati*, suggesting for them the status of military officers appointed to rule the region. But the subsequent members of the family are styled *mahārājas* or *mahāsāmantarājas*. Another instance of this process comes from Orissa. Here Somadatta, an officer of Śaśāṅka, originally ruled as governor.<sup>5</sup> Later we find this very Somadatta ruling the provinces of Utkala and Daṇḍabhukti as *sāmanta-mahārāja*.<sup>6</sup>

There were both bigger and smaller *sāmantas*, differentiated by the terms *mahāsāmanta* and *sāmanta*.<sup>7</sup> The bigger *sāmantas* had a privileged position at the court. Their words carried weight and could not be lightly brushed aside.<sup>8</sup> Some bigger *sāmantas* appear to have had their own *sāmantas*.<sup>9</sup> In the inscriptions of the medieval period these big *sāmantas* are called *mahāsāmantādhipati*.<sup>10</sup> The

<sup>1</sup> Ibid., p. 379 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., p. 288 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *Si-yu-ki* I, pp. 90, 91, 98, 136, 143, 163; II, 193, 268 f., 274, 275, 276.

<sup>4</sup> Whereas during the reign of Kumāra Gupta, the Governor of Puṇḍravardhana was called *uparika*, in the inscriptions from the time of Budha Gupta onwards, he assumes the title of *uparika-mahārāja* — *Select Inscriptions*, pp. 284, 295, 324, 328, 338.

<sup>5</sup> *EI.*, XXIII, 32 (B and C).

<sup>6</sup> *JRASB.* (L), XI, p. 7 f.

<sup>7</sup> *Mahāsāmantaśrīsāmanta* in the list of officers addressed to in grants — *EI.*, XXIII, 13; III, 6; XV, 19; XXVIII, 41.

<sup>8</sup> *Harṣacarita*, p. 153 — *Anatikramaṇavacanairupasṛtya pradhānasāmantair vijñāpyamāṇaḥ*.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. the expression *samatikkrāntakirttirānekasāmantottamāṅgāvanatamukūṭa-manimayūkhavicchūrītacaraṇāravindayugalaḥ* applied to Mahāsāmantamahārāja Śrīvaruṇasena — *Gupta Inscriptions*, 80. Some of the grants of our period made by *sāmantas* are also addressed, among others, to their own *sāmantas*.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. *EI.*, XII, 31. The term is mentioned in the spurious inscription from Devagiri dated 600 A.D. (*EI.*, XI, 1, p. 6).

smaller *sāmanta* was subordinate to a bigger one who in his turn accepted the suzerainty of the emperor.<sup>1</sup>

The nature of the relation between the subordinate and sovereign states depended upon the comparative strength and size of the two states. A *sāmanta* king paid his allegiance only as long as the suzerain was powerful. On the least sign of the weakness of the empire the *sāmantas* tried to shake off the subordination. The *sāmantas* were always on the lookout to declare their independence and the paramount power had to bring them to submission from time to time. It was the fear of the might of the paramount lord that kept them loyal.<sup>2</sup>

The *sāmantas* used to accompany the emperor in his wars. Rājyavardhana when he went to meet the Hūṇas is said to have been attended by his devoted *sāmantas*.<sup>3</sup> Bāṇa on first meeting Harṣa at the camp in the village of Maṇitārā found a large number of the *sāmantas* of the enemy kings<sup>4</sup> who fighting for their overlords were defeated and captured.

The *sāmantas* had to pay the sovereign lord certain dues.<sup>5</sup> But

<sup>1</sup> Thus the Maitrakas had their own *sāmantas* (*El.*, XI, 17 — the Gārulaka family). See also Eran stone Pillar inscription of the time of Budhagupta — *Select Inscriptions*, p. 326 f. Prthivivigraha ruling over Kalinga under the suzerainty of the Guptas had Mahārāja Dharmarāja as his subordinate (*IHQ.*, XXVI, p. 75).

<sup>2</sup> The inscriptions of the Parivrajakas (*Gupta Inscriptions*, 21 23; *El.*, XXI, 20), the Uccakalpas (*Gupta Inscriptions*, 26, 27) and Mahārājas Lakṣmaṇa (*El.*, II, p. 364; *ASI.*, 1936-7 p. 88) and Subandhu (*El.*, XIX, 44) have only a very veiled reference to their overlords the Guptas. Cf. the early history of the Maukharis, the Vardhanas and the Aulikaras. The inscription of king Mānadeva of Nepal (Indraji No. 1) describes how subordinate rulers used to raise the banner of revolt at the first sign of confusion after the death of the sovereign king. Prabhākaravardhana is compared with Mandāra for churning, like an ocean, the whole ring of feudatories drunk with the intoxication of valourous frenzy (*Harṣacarita*, p. 155). The inscriptions also almost invariably refer to kings as having subdued their *sāmantas* by their might (*El.*, XXIII, 15; XII, 13, 7; VI, 29; IX, 45; XXVI, 5A; IX, 50; VIII, 24) or won them over by the pre-eminence of their three-fold powers (*El.*, XXIII, 42A; XV, 14; XXVI, 23). It was a common belief that the *sāmantas* remained loyal only through fear of the might of the sovereign. The Aihole inscription of Pulakeśin (*El.*, VI, 17) remarks that the Lāṭas, Mālavas and Gūjjaras subdued by Pulakeśin's splendour became as it were teachers of how *sāmantas*, subdued by force, ought to behave.

<sup>3</sup> *Harṣa*, p. 121. The Aihole inscription of Pulakeśin II in referring to the defeat inflicted by Pulakeśin on Harṣa describes Harṣa's feet as arrayed with the rays of the jewels of the diadems of hosts of feudatories prosperous with unmeasured might (*El.*, VI, 1). It is likely that Harṣa's army was swelled by contingents of soldiers supplied by his *sāmantas*.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 74.

<sup>5</sup> In the *Harṣacarita* (p. 74) king Puṣyabhūti is said to have made the *sāmantas*, defeated by the might of his arm, pay taxes.



the references do not reveal the nature of these *karas*.<sup>1</sup> Was a fixed sum paid annually or periodically, had the paramount sovereign the right to extort as much money as possible, or was the *sāmanta* merely expected to pay something in the nature of a present? We cannot establish if the king went out to collect this sum from the *sāmantas* or if the *sāmantas* paid it at the time when they presented themselves at the court?

One of the duties of the *sāmantas* was to report at the court personally, and to win the favour of the king by personal service. References both epigraphic and literary often describe the feet of sovereign kings as being coloured by the rays from the gems in the crowns of *sāmanta* kings as they bowed down to reverence the feet of their overlord.<sup>2</sup> The ways in which a *sāmanta* performed obeisance and personal service are elaborated best in the passage<sup>3</sup> where Harṣa, after resolving to conquer all the kings, commanded them either to become his vassals or to be prepared to fight. The *sāmantas* had to wave chowries and with staff in hand to serve as doorkeepers. There were many forms of obeisance. Sometimes the *sāmanta* simply joined his palms; at others he bowed his head. Or he might touch the feet of the king with his head. Or he might put the dust of the king's feet upon his own head. The passage also refers to the payment of taxes by defeated and subdued kings. The *sāmantas* were also required to obey the orders of the king. As their husbands served the king, so the wives of the *sāmantas* had to serve the queen. In the *Harṣacarita*<sup>4</sup> Queen Yaśovatī claims that she used to be bathed in water by the wives of countless *sāmantas*.

Thus a *sāmantarāja*, even if allowed to rule his own territory, had often to visit the court to attend upon the king. Some *sāmantas* resided permanently at the court. Economically unproductive, they formed an idle and worthless class. Bāṇa in his *Kādambarī*<sup>5</sup> paints a lively picture of thousands of subordinate crowned kings (*mūrdhābhiṣikṭena sāmantalokena*), seated in the assembly hall of a palace. 'Some were playing at dice; some were practising the game

<sup>1</sup> *Pañcatantra*, I (tr.) p. 85 — the envoys from King Valour, monarch of the south, go to collect yearly tribute from the king of the Sugarcane city but on not receiving the customary honour, grow indignant and remark, "Come, king! Payday is past, why have you failed to offer the taxes due?"

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Kathākośa*, p. 136 — *Tatra rājñāḥ samīpe sevākaraṇārthaṁ sāmanta-mahāsāmantaśrīkaraṇavyayakaraṇapramukhasabheṣūpasthiteṣu*.

<sup>3</sup> *Harṣacarita*, p. 168 f. The *Harṣacarita* has many references to the presence of *sāmantas* in the capital or at the court — *Ibid.*, pp. 121, 126, 144, 156.

<sup>4</sup> p. 140.

<sup>5</sup> pp. 193–4.

of chess; some were playing on the seven-stringed *parivādini* lute; some were conversing about poems; some were indulging in jocular talk; some were making out the syllables corresponding to the dots of *bindumati*; some solving the poetical riddles known as the *prahelikās*; some considering the fine sayings in the poems composed by His Majesty; some reciting stanzas in the *Dvipadī* metre; some praising or appreciating the merits of poets; some busy drawing ornamental decorations on the ground; some talking with the numerous courtesans present there; and some listening to the songs of the bards.<sup>1</sup> But there were also some *sāmantas* who occupied administrative posts.<sup>1</sup> How did these two classes of *sāmantas* — one doing nothing productive and enjoying the luxuries of the court and the other holding offices under the sovereign come to exist? Perhaps the term *sāmanta* now denoted a mere honorific title; certain *sāmantas* may have become bankrupt and come to the court, where they received maintenance; or perhaps the title of *sāmanta* was claimed not only by direct successors but also by collaterals, from which group people went to the court to eke out a living, as their own petty States were not sufficient to hold them all.<sup>2</sup> The meagre data does not warrant a conclusive solution of the problem. Some *sāmanta* rulers may have been reduced to a pitiable condition, having exhausted their resources in extravagant luxuries; but whether this was common we cannot be sure. About the other two possibilities unless relevant evidence is available nothing definite can be said. It has to be realized that such offices were often sinecures, in the nature of an honour conferred by the king. Even *sāmantas* actually ruling their respective kingdoms have been found in charge of some office, obviously under the sovereign king.<sup>3</sup> Such offices would then appear to have shown the suzerain's appreciation of the loyalty of a *sāmanta*.

<sup>1</sup> In some records a *sāmanta* appears as the *dūtaka* of the grant made by a king (*Select Inscriptions*, p. 333 f.; *JB.BRAS.*, I, 5, p. 24; I, 17 p. 57; *EI.*, VII, 22). In the Madhuban grant of Harṣa, *Sāmanta* Skandagupta and *Sāmanta* Īśvaragupta appear respectively as *mahāpramatāra* and *mahākṣapaṭalādhikaraṇādhikṛta* — *EI.*, VII, 22. Cf. *bhāṇḍāgārādhikṛtamahāsāmanta* — *Divākara-prabhaḥ* — *EI.*, XII, 13. The Mundesvari inscription of Mahārāja Udayasena (*EI.*, IX, 41) calls him both *mahāsāmanta* and *mahāpratihāra*. The Sarangarh grant mentions a *Mahāsāmanta* Indrabalarāja as the *sarvādhikārādhikṛta* of king Sudevarāja of Śarabhapura — *EI.*, IX, 39. Cf. *EI.*, XXIII, 13; XVIII, 32.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. the reference *mahāsandhivigrahiśrīsāmantasūnūnā Khaṇḍena* — *EI.* XXIII, 42 (A).

<sup>3</sup> The Mundesvari inscription of Udayasena refers to his reign and also describes him both as *mahāsāmanta* and *mahāpratihāra* — *EI.*, IX, 41. Also see Kanas Plate of Bhānudatta — *EI.*, XXVIII, 51 (B).

In medieval times *sāmanta* no doubt denoted a chieftain or noble having the right to enjoy a certain fixed income.<sup>1</sup> The *Kathāsaritsāgara*<sup>2</sup> refers often to individuals being made *sāmantas* by kings who gave them villages, gold, umbrellas and vehicles. Sometimes the king, becoming displeased with *sāmantas*, dismissed them and appointed others in their place.<sup>3</sup> So it is clear that *sāmantas* were no longer a class of subordinate rulers, but virtually a class of privileged nobles enjoying landed properties.<sup>4</sup> Such a class depended upon the goodwill of the king. The references in Baṇa and a passage of the *Mālatīmādhava*<sup>5</sup> to the feet of the minister Bhūrivasu as coloured by the pollen of the flowers in the crest-chaplets of many a *sāmanta* indicate that the tendency towards a further change in the meaning of the term had started in the 7th century. *Sāmanta* in *Mālatīmādhava* would appear to represent the period when the term was coming to mean a chieftain. The practice of some *sāmantas* residing at the imperial court with permanent mansions at the capital<sup>6</sup> suggests that the new development had already begun.

<sup>1</sup> *Aparājitaṭṭhā* of Bhuvanadeva, LXIX, 35-44; LXXVIII, 3-7, 32-34; LXXXI, 1-4.

<sup>2</sup> XVIII, 126-130; XXX, 137-138; XLIX, 61-62; LIII, 72.

<sup>3</sup> XLII, 115.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* (ed. Pandit), V, 250 — the ministers, *sāmantas*, *tantrins* and *ekāṅgas* assemble to invest some fit person with the regal power. See also III, 232; IV, 556, 643; V, 224, 343, 355, 395.

<sup>5</sup> VI, p. 77 — *Iyamaśeṣasāmanta mastakottamśaparāgārājītacaraṇāṅgulera-mātyabhūrivasoḥ*. Cf. also *Harṣacarita*, p. 205 for a reference to an *āṭavikasā-manta*. EI., XV, 19 — grant made to a brāhmaṇa *mahāsāmanta*.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. *Bṛhatsaṃhitā*, LII, 8 — *Nṛpasacivāntaratulyaṃ sāmanta pravararāja-puruṣaṇām*. *Nṛpayuvārājaviśeṣaḥ kaṇṇukiveśyākālājñānām*.

# THE POLITICAL ATTITUDES OF THE MU'TAZILAH

By W. MONTGOMERY WATT

THE FOLLOWING IS an attempt to gain a deeper understanding of Mu'tazilite theology by looking at the political attitudes of its exponents. I am much indebted to H. S. Nyberg's pioneer work, notably his article *Mu'tazila* in the *Encyclopedia of Islam*<sup>1</sup> and his edition of *Kitāb al-Intiṣār*. If different conclusions are reached, that is because his work has made possible a more radical estimate of the sources.

## 1. *The nature of the sources as shown by the accounts of the Jahmiyyah*

There are several mysteries about the sect of the Jahmiyyah. While it occupies a minor place in the works of later heresiographers like al-Baghdādī (d. 1037) and ash-Shahrastānī (d. 1153), in certain earlier works it is one of the major sects. It is prominent in the *Ibānah* of al-Ash'arī (d. 935); and, of 71 pages from the traditionist Khushaysh (d. 867) quoted by al-Malaṭī, 35 are given to the Jahmiyyah as against seven to the Murji'ah, eight to the Rāfiḍah, nine to the Qadariyyah and seven to the Khawārij.<sup>1</sup> Even more mysterious is the fact that we are unable to name any member of the sect other than the founder. A man called Nu'aym ibn-Ḥammād, who was imprisoned about 846 for denying the creation of the Qur'ān and who died in prison, said that he had once been a Jahmite,<sup>2</sup> presumably implying among other things that he had held the createdness of the Qur'ān. Bishr ibn-Ghiyāth al-Marīsī (d. 833 or a little later) and his generation are said to have spread a "Jahmite doctrine",<sup>3</sup> but they are not said to be members of the Jahmiyyah. No other individuals seem to be mentioned as belonging to the Jahmiyyah apart from men usually assigned to other sects (as in the list to be considered presently).

Much of our information about the Jahmiyyah comes from Ḥanbalites or men of a similar outlook. Aḥmad ibn-Ḥanbal (d. 855) considered a Jahmite anyone who held that the enunciation of the

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Free Will and Predestination in Early Islam*, London, 1948, 100.

<sup>2</sup> Ibn 'Asākir, *Tabyīn Kadhib al-Muftarī*, 383f.

<sup>3</sup> Ibn Taymiyyah, *Aqīdah Ḥamawīyyah*, cf. M. Schreiner, *ZDMG.*, liii, 72f.; lii. 544.

Qur'ān was created or who denied God's knowledge.<sup>1</sup> Refutations of the Jahmiyyah were written by him, by Ibn-Qutaybah (d. 884 or 889), Khushaysh (as noted above), Aḥmad's son 'Abd-Allāh (d. 903),<sup>2</sup> 'Uthmān ibn-Sa'īd ad-Dārimī (d. c. 895),<sup>3</sup> 'Abd-ar-Raḥmān ibn-Abī-Ḥātim (traditionist, d. 939),<sup>4</sup> and Ibn Mandah (traditionist, d. 1005),<sup>5</sup> while arguments against the Jahmiyyah were included by al-Ash'arī (d. 935, a professed follower of Ibn-Ḥanbal) in his *Ibānah* and Ibn-Khuzaymah (d. 923) in his *Kitāb at-Tawḥīd*. The views of the Jahmiyyah as described and criticized by Ḥanbalites are very close to those of a Mu'tazilite like Abū 'l-Hudhayl, and thus it is practically certain that many views called Jahmite by the Ḥanbalite writers were those of men normally called Mu'tazilites. This is confirmed by Ibn Baṭṭah's list of men who followed or were sympathetic to Jahm; apart from Bishr al-Marīsī and Barghūth, who are classified sometimes as Mu'tazilites, sometimes as Murji'ites, sometimes in other ways, all the identifiable persons in this list are commonly reckoned Mu'tazilites.<sup>6</sup>

The conclusion so far then is that "Jahmite" is a term of abuse used by the Ḥanbalites. It may be used loosely, as "Marxist" and "fascist" have been used loosely as terms of abuse. The views originally denounced as "Jahmite" were apparently that the Qur'ān was created and that God did not speak even to Moses (as the Qur'ān stated) and had no attribute of speech.<sup>7</sup> Later the general denial of God's attributes and the use of metaphorical interpretations of the Qur'ān, which are implicit in the above, were also held to be distinctive of the Jahmiyyah.<sup>8</sup> A renegade from the Mu'tazilah, Ibn-ar-Rāwandī (d. 910?), wrote a scurrilous book against his former associates (refuted by al-Khayyāt in *Kitāb al-Intiṣār*), and in it spoke of Jahm as a Mu'tazilite; al-Khayyāt, in denying this, admits that it was commonly thought to be the case.<sup>9</sup> Even more interesting is a verse-quotation from Bishr ibn-al-Mu'tamir (d. 825) denying the popular attribution of Ḍirār to the Mu'tazilah,

<sup>1</sup> GALS., i, 310, no. 7; H. Laoust, *Essai sur . . . Aḥmad b. Taimiya*, 172, 261, Cf. adh-Dhahabī, *Tadhkirāt al-Ḥuffāz*, Hyderabad, 1956, ii, 414 (s.v. al-Ḥumaydī).

<sup>2</sup> GALS., i, 186, 16; 348, no. 7a (al-Malaṭī); 310, no. 3a.

<sup>3</sup> Edited by G. Vitestam, Lund, 1960.

<sup>4</sup> As-Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt*, ii, 238; Ibn-Abī-'l-Wafā', *al-Jawāhir al-Muḍī'ah*, i, p. 52.

<sup>5</sup> GALS., i, 281 (p).

<sup>6</sup> H. Laoust, *La Profession de Foi d'Ibn Baṭṭa*, text 91, tr. 167-9.

<sup>7</sup> Creed quoted by Laoust, *Profession*, 50n. 2.

<sup>8</sup> Al-Malaṭī, *Tanbih*, 75-7.

<sup>9</sup> *Intiṣār*, 126.



and saying that he was a follower of Jahm and that the followers of Jahm have nothing to do with those of 'Amr (ibn-'Ubayd), that is, the Mu'tazilites.<sup>1</sup>

At this point a further complication may be noticed. The term "Jahmite" is also used by adherents of the legal rite of Abū Ḥanīfah (d. 767). The tenth article of *al-Fiqh al-akbar* (I) denounces the Jahmites for denying the punishment of the tomb (a punishment between death and resurrection — a piece of folk-belief accepted by Islam though not in the Qur'ān); and A. J. Wensinck thinks this creed may go back to Abū Ḥanīfah himself,<sup>2</sup> though the actual form — and therefore the word "Jahmites" — may be later. Ibrāhīm ibn-Ṭahmān (d. c. 780), a jurist in Khurāsān, called a Ḥanafite though his connection with Abū Ḥanīfah is not clear, is said to have been a vigorous opponent of the Jahmiyyah; but this may merely mean that he fought against Jahm, or, since the report comes from Aḥmad ibn-Ḥanbal, the term Jahmiyyah may be used in the latter's sense.<sup>3</sup> Ibrāhīm ibn-Yūsuf of Balkh (d. c. 854) used the word "Jahmite" of those who hesitated about condemning upholders of the createdness of the Qur'ān as unbelievers.<sup>4</sup> Since Bishr al-Marīsī, the propagator of Jahmite ideas, was a Ḥanafite, it would seem that some of the Ḥanafite ulema were interested in rational or philosophical theology, while others strongly opposed them. The use of the word "Jahmite" among the Ḥanafites was of minor importance, however, and was assimilated to that of the Ḥanbalites after the attack by the latter on the doctrine of the createdness of the Qur'ān.

The only view apparently which gives an adequate explanation of the facts here brought together is the following. The name "Jahmite" came to be employed in Traditionist circles, perhaps before 800, to indicate persons who rejected certain views hitherto accepted by the great mass of Muslims. Why Jahm's name should form an opprobrious epithet is not clear; he was little worse than other revolutionaries except that his party had sometimes allied itself with Turks against other Muslims;<sup>5</sup> the story that because of doubt he stopped praying for forty days sounds a later invention.

<sup>1</sup> Ibid., 134.

<sup>2</sup> *The Muslim Creed*, 104, 122-24.

<sup>3</sup> Ibn Abī-'l-Wafā', *Jawāhir*, i. no. 23.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., no. 61.

<sup>5</sup> Cf., *EI* (2), s.v. "Djahm". It should be noted, though there is probably no connection, that Abū 'l-Hudhayl had contacts with a Muḥammad ibn-Jahm al-Barmakī, Ibn Qutaybah, *Ta'wil . . . Ḥadīth*, 53, 60f. Cf. Pellat, *Milieu Basrien*, 67.

Since Bishr ibn-al-Mu'tamir rejects all connection with Jahm, the Mu'tazilah must have been called Jahmites before his death (about 825). It was probably at the time of the Miḥnah (833-49)<sup>1</sup> that Aḥmad ibn-Ḥanbal and his party brought the term "Jahmite" into common use to describe the official government views. The Mu'tazilites, some of whom were close friends of the government, resented being dubbed the followers of a sceptical revolutionary, and tried to have the term restricted to a small group of persons who believed in the createdness of the Qur'ān but did not share the other Mu'tazilite views. In this they were largely successful, since most heresiographers were either Mu'tazilites or followed Mu'tazilite sources.

Despite the elaborate notices of the Jahmiyyah in the heresiographers, then, there never was such a sect. Those in Tirmidh said by al-Baghdādī to have recently become Ash'arites must have been some strange fossilization of the views of men like Ḍirār or an-Najjār.<sup>2</sup> About Jahm himself probably little can now be known for certain. The views ascribed to his followers (or even to himself) and then refuted are not the views of some Jahmites unknown to us, but the views of real men whom we already know but refer to as Mu'tazilites or by some name other than Jahmites. The "unsolved problem" of the relation between Jahm and Abū 'l-Hudhayl<sup>3</sup> thus ceases to be a problem; it is a question of the relation of the account of Abū 'l-Hudhayl's views by his friends to the account of his and similar views by his enemies.

This raises the question whether the usual account of the founding of the Mu'tazilah by Wāṣil is to be accepted, or whether it was invented by Bishr ibn-al-Mu'tamir to refute the allegation that he was a Jahmite. Before considering this question let us take stock of what we have just learnt about the sources, and let us look at the historical context of the political attitudes of some leading Mu'tazilites. Four points may be made.

(1) The early history of the sects has been affected by later polemics in much the same way as the early political history of Islam. Statements cannot always be taken as objective or near-objective, but one must always notice *who* said a thing. In particular

<sup>1</sup> W. M. Patton, *Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal and the Miḥnah*, Leiden, 1897; A. J. Wensinck, art. "Miḥnah" in *EI* (1).

<sup>2</sup> *Al-Farq bayn al-Firaq*, 200.

<sup>3</sup> S. Pines, *Beiträge zur islamischen Atomenlehre*, 124-33; G. Vitestam, *op. cit.*, 15.



the names of sects are always relative to the speaker. When 'Amr ibn-'Ubayd wrote a "Refutation of the Qadariyyah"<sup>1</sup> he was not attacking the Mu'tazilite doctrine of free will; "Qadarite" was a term of abuse which two sets of people applied to one another,<sup>2</sup> and for 'Amr it meant those who *denied* free will.

(2) Definite information about particular men of whose history something is known is more reliable and more valuable than general descriptions of sects.

(3) Early accounts are generally of greater value than later accounts. Yet later accounts which are at variance with the commonly-held (that is, Mu'tazilite-Ash'arite) views may have preserved some genuine material.

(4) Statements about the past, especially about 'Alī, Ṭalḥah, 'Uthmān and the like (of which examples will be discussed presently) were originally made, not because of an academic interest in history, but because of some contemporary political need. They must therefore be considered in the historical context of the person who made the statement. The context of the lives of Wāṣil, Bishr ibn-al-Mu'tamir and al-Jubbā'i was very different, and, even if they used the same expressions, these must have had different implications.

## 2. *The Political Attitudes of some leading Mu'tazilites.*

The men who initiated the philosophico-theological speculations which have made the Mu'tazilites famous, especially Abū 'l-Hudhayl, an-Nazzām and Bishr ibn-al-Mu'tamir, were active in the reigns of Hārūn ar-Rashīd (786-809) and al-Ma'mūn (813-33), and it is therefore in the history of the period from about 780 to 850 that we find the background of the political attitudes of these men and their successors.

In its beginnings the 'Abbāsid caliphate created an effective organ of government by gaining the support of both the Persian nobility and the leaders of the Arabs who had settled in 'Irāq and further east. It had also the backing of what under the Umayyads has been called the "pious opposition" but may now, with a slight anticipation, be termed the "Traditionist movement". At various points it had popular support, too, but it is difficult to assess the extent

<sup>1</sup> Ibn Khallikān, no. 514.

<sup>2</sup> Al-Ash'arī, *Ibānah*, 73f. (discussed in *Free Will and Predestination*, 49f.); K. *al-Luma'* (ed. McCarthy), §120f.; ash-Shahrastānī, *Milal*, (Cairo, 1948), i. 57f. (at beginning of notice of Mu'tazilah).

of this popular support in the different regions. The political and social factors of this period, indeed, require much further study. What is said here is tentative, but will perhaps be sufficient for a study of the Mu'tazilites.

Soon after the establishment of the 'Abbāsid regime it became apparent that the balance of forces on which it rested was uneasy. Apart from the abortive revolts of those who were not prepared to accept the 'Abbāsids, the persecution of Zindiqs or Manichaeans from about 779 to 786 shows that strains were being felt within the ruling institution; the Manichaeanism which was persecuted was the intellectual expression of restlessness within the secretary class or civil service, doubtless due mainly to fears of being displaced by the nascent Traditionist movement.<sup>1</sup> During the dominance of the Barmakids (up to 803) the balance of power was being tipped in favour of the Persian nobility, and therefore of the wider grouping of which they were a part, which I shall call the "autocratic bloc"; this name is intended as a vague, not necessarily accurate name, but some justification will be given for it later. The fall of the Barmakids meant the rise to power of al-Faql ibn-ar-Rabī', an Arab and the representative of the opposing grouping which I shall call the "constitutionalist bloc". Before his death ar-Rashīd made arrangements for what was practically a division of the empire between his two sons — an arrangement which, as the history of the Roman empire shows, might have worked well if the two brothers and their supporters had been prepared to respect one another's rights. Al-Ma'mūn had the eastern part of the empire, where the autocratic bloc was by far the stronger; al-Amīn had the centre, the stronghold of the constitutionalists, and as much of the west as he could control.

The division of the empire lasted from 809 to 813. Al-Amīn's supporters were unwilling to accept the division, and resorted to force to deprive al-Ma'mūn of his virtual independence. The result was a triumph of al-Ma'mūn and the autocratic bloc. Yet this brought the achievement of a balance no nearer. In 816 al-Ma'mūn moved further away from the constitutionalists by designating as his successor 'Alī ar-Riḍā, the head of the descendants of 'Alī at this time, though perhaps not yet acknowledged as the eighth imam of the Imamite Shī'ites. This was an attempt to conciliate the moderate Shī'ites, and, together with al-Ma'mūn's apparent

<sup>1</sup> *Islam and the Integration of Society*, 121f. For the following distinction of parties, cf. L. Massignon, *Passion*, i. 204.

intention to govern the whole caliphate from Khurāsān, provoked a constitutionalist attempt to displace him by setting up a rival caliph in 'Iraq, Ibrāhīm ibn-al-Mahdī (817). In 819, however, 'Alī ar-Riḍā having died in 818, al-Ma'mūn returned to 'Iraq, and the revolt under Ibrāhīm collapsed.

At the end of al-Ma'mūn's reign in 833 he made a fresh attempt to strike a balance between the autocratic and constitutionalist blocs. This was the Miḥnah or Inquisition. The dignitaries in the provinces and in Baghdad were required to make a public profession of their adherence to the doctrine that the Qur'ān, the Word of God, was created and not uncreated. Although the connection of this piece of theology with politics is not obvious, there certainly was a connection. An important part of the constitutionalist bloc was the Traditionist movement, and most of the Traditionists considered that the Islamic community's way of life was constituted by the supernatural revelation contained in the Qur'ān and Traditions. To say the Qur'ān was created was to make it less than divine, and thereby to reject their conception of the community as divinely-constituted and to weaken their whole position.<sup>1</sup> Correspondingly it strengthened the Shī'ites who looked for guidance to the imam or charismatic leader and not to the revealed scriptures. While the application of doctrinal tests was fitful, this general policy was continued until about 849, shortly after the beginning of the reign of al-Mutawakkil (847-61), when there was a shift back to greater reliance on the constitutionalists. Little need be said about the remainder of the century. Already about 820 one of al-Ma'mūn's generals, Tāhir, had made himself virtually independent in Khurāsān; and other men elsewhere began to follow his example. At the centre the caliph became more dependent on his guards and other household troops, and, while his dignity was maintained, the realities of power rapidly began to slip from his grasp.

Such, then, is the outline of the relevant events in the period of the great Mu'tazilite doctors. About the underlying political and social factors something may be said, though in tentative fashion; but two preliminary points must be noticed. Firstly the views of the politically active élite are of more importance than those of the politically inert masses. The chief political importance of the ordinary people was as fighters or as a mob; in particular the populace of Baghdad was a far from negligible factor. In so far, then, as the

<sup>1</sup> Ibid., esp. 204-6; "The Conception of the Charismatic Community in Islam", *Numen*, vii (1960), 77-90.

people's vigorous support or their acquiescence was required, they were a relevant political factor; but in general only the views of men with some power and responsibility had to be taken into account. Secondly, the groupings here called the autocratic and constitutionalist blocs were far from being homogeneous. Each was a complex of many elements, some of which fluctuated from one side to the other. Older historians have described them as the Persian party and the Arab party respectively, but it has been shown that this is no more than a rough approximation;<sup>1</sup> it is doubtful, too, whether at this period Persians and Arabs were moved by anything resembling national feeling.

A brief study of the material shows that, while the constitutionalists favoured the Sunnite position, the autocratic party had a leaning towards Shi'ism. Ar-Rashīd, still trying to maintain a balance between the two groups, persecuted that central body of Shi'ites known at this period as Rāfiḍites; among those imprisoned were Bishr ibn-al-Mu'tamir and Bishr al-Marīsī.<sup>2</sup> The latter was again regarded with suspicion during the brief period when Ibrāhīm with constitutionalist support was in control of Baghdad.<sup>3</sup> Al-Ma'mūn, as already mentioned, nominated as his successor 'Alī ar-Riḍā, and later during the period of the Miḥnah a section of the Mu'tazilites had a large say in the direction of affairs, the Miḥnah itself being inspired by them; these Mu'tazilites, though not Shi'ites, were sympathetic to 'Alid claims. While this was the general attitude of the two groupings, then, there were many exceptions; al-Ma'mūn was himself well versed in the learning of the Traditionists, while al-Amīn is found gaining the support of a Shi'ite imprisoned by his father.<sup>4</sup>

The leading Mu'tazilites of the period of al-Ma'mūn and later were mainly *mawālī*, that is, non-Arabs attached to Arab tribes, and probably from the old stock of the town-dwellers of 'Iraq. They belonged to what I am calling the Traditionist movement, that is, the body of devout men who studied and discussed the interpretation of the Qur'ān and points of Islamic law. It is perhaps incorrect to call them "Traditionists" before 850, when through the influence of ash-Shāfi'ī (d. 802) the conception of the Sunnah

<sup>1</sup> F. Gabrieli, "La successione di Hārūn ar-Rašīd . . .", *RSO.*, xi. 341-97, esp. 395f.; *Al-Ma'mūn e gli 'Alidi*, Leipzig, 1929, 29f.

<sup>2</sup> *EI* (2), s.v.

<sup>3</sup> Ibn-Abī 'l-Wafā', *Jawāhir*, i. no. 1146.

<sup>4</sup> Gabrieli, *RSO.*, xi. 354f.

of the Prophet had crystallized; but this body of devout men existed as early as 700, even if in its earlier stages it was less homogeneous than it later became. It might also be called the body of '*ulamā*'. It contained all those versed in Islamic law, and was the main avenue to a judicial career. Under al-Ma'mūn and his successors several Mu'tazilites became judges. The Mu'tazilites also shared the hostility of the Traditionist movement for the secretary class, and vigorously attacked the Manichaean views which were the intellectual expression of the insecurity of that class in face of the rise of the Islamic '*ulamā*'.<sup>1</sup>

Why a section of the nascent Traditionist movement should have become interested in Greek thought remains obscure. It may be that they came from families which had had some higher education of a Hellenistic type before conversion; it may be that they saw the need for Greek philosophical techniques in arguing against the secretaries; or perhaps there was some general contemporary interest of which we are not aware. Whatever the reason, the Mu'tazilites were certainly in the forefront of the movement under al-Ma'mūn for translations of Greek philosophy and science;<sup>2</sup> and the leading exponent of Greek philosophy in Arabic about this time, al-Kindī, had views which were close to those of the Mu'tazilah at many points.

Abū 'l-Hudhayl, the main founder of the philosophical theology of the Mu'tazilah, is said to have been born in Baṣrah about 752 or earlier, and to have died in 840 or later. The date of his birth may have been advanced in order to link him up with Wāṣil. On the other hand, he may have been a very old man when he died. None of the other information about him makes it necessary for him to have been active after 830 or even 825. He was present at a discussion at the house of Yaḥyā al-Barmakī, and that must be before 803.<sup>3</sup> He was also present at discussions in which al-Ma'mūn took part (that is, after 819) and indeed presided, having himself settled in Baghdad in 818.<sup>4</sup> He must therefore have been at the height of his powers from about 795 to 825.

Bishr ibn-al-Mu'tamir, the first head of the Mu'tazilites in Baghdad, though perhaps not the first Mu'tazilite there, was born in Baghdad but studied in Baṣrah. During the reign of ar-Rashīd he was

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Integration*, 122.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. R. Walzer, in S. Radhakrishnan, *Philosophies East and West*, i, 125f.

<sup>3</sup> Al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, vi, 370.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, viii, 301; *EI* (2) s.v. "Abū 'l-Hudhayl".



imprisoned for his Rāfiḍite views, and is said to have gained public attention by verses written in prison. The usual date for his death is 825. There is apparently, however, no mention of any activity by him after 809, though, if alive and active, he would have received some attention when al-Ma'mūn returned to Baghdad. His main period of activity is probably some ten or fifteen years before that of Abū 'l-Hudhayl.

Little is told us about the political views of these two men. Abū 'l-Hudhayl held that of the two parties at the Battle of the Camel ('Alī on the one hand and Ṭalḥah and his friends on the other) one was right and the other wrong, but that he did not know which and therefore "associated with" both; Bishr, however, held that 'Alī was right and Ṭalḥah wrong, and also that 'Alī was right in arranging the Arbitration and the arbiters wrong in not judging according to the Book.<sup>1</sup> An-Nazzām, another prominent Mu'tazilite in Baṣrah about the same time as Abū 'l-Hudhayl, held similar views to Bishr about 'Alī and Ṭalḥah. This is all we are told. How are we to interpret it in the light of the political conditions of the time (on the assumption that it has some contemporary relevance)?

Some help is gained by noticing that the chief opponents of the Mu'tazilites in the discussions described by al-Mas'ūdī and elsewhere were Rāfiḍites — the term employed by al-Jāḥiẓ, al-Khayyāṭ and an-Nawbakhtī, though al-Mas'ūdī prefers "Imāmites". A distinctive feature of the Rāfiḍites was that they rejected the imamate of Abū Bakr and 'Umar, that is, held that from the first 'Alī was the rightful imam and the others usurpers. On the points mentioned the views of Bishr were identical with those of the Rāfiḍites (though presumably different in other respects), and so ar-Rashīd had some grounds for imprisoning him. What was the immediate political relevance of the Rāfiḍite position? There may have been in Shi'ism a "lunatic fringe" (*Ghulāt*) which was ready for revolt at any moment; but the Rāfiḍites of Baṣrah and Baghdad against whom Abū 'l-Hudhayl argued, openly attending receptions and discussions, can have had no thought of revolt. Even Shī'ite tradition shows that the 'Alid family evinced no interest in politics before the designation of 'Alī ar-Riḍā as heir to the throne in 816. The later Shī'ite view that the 'Alid family was constantly mindful of its claim to the imamate in the half century before 816 is without foundation, and the influence of this view has always to be discounted

<sup>1</sup> Al-Ash'arī, *Maqālāt*, ii. 456f., 453; an-Nawbakhtī, *Shi'ah*, 13f.

in dealing with the sources. But if the Rāfiḍites of the reigns of ar-Rashīd and al-Ma'mūn did *not* want an 'Alid revolt, what *did* they want?

At this point we recollect that the political arguments of the time were about 'Alī, Ṭalḥah, the Arbiters, Mu'āwiyah and so forth. A little later al-Jāhīz was involved in a party of 'Uthmānites. For reasons that are not clear it was convenient for the men of this period to conduct their political discussions in terms of events that had taken place a century and a half earlier. This is merely an outward form, however, and it must not be allowed to conceal from us the contemporary significance of the discussions. Thus, because this party of 'Uthmānites had the name of the third caliph, it must not be thought that they stood for some Umayyad revival; they were loyal supporters of the 'Abbāsids.<sup>1</sup> From this way of looking at things comes the conclusion that those who argued vehemently for 'Alī were not necessarily pro-'Alid. Of those named as Rāfiḍites in the period up to 816 and for half a century afterwards, some at least were not plotting to replace the 'Abbāsid dynasty by an 'Alid one. If the Rāfiḍites, then, are not a pro-'Alid party, what can have been their aims?

In reply to this question the suggestion is here offered that it was the general conception of the caliphate that was at stake — not which particular family or person was to rule but what kind of ruler one was to look for. Must the caliph be a person with a "divine right" to rule and so the primary fount of all law in the state? Or was he merely a man subject to the divine law contained in the Qur'ān and the Sunnah of the Prophet? (The latter was a conception which was taking shape about this time through the work of ash-Shāfi'ī.) This difference of opinion about the nature of the caliphate was not a purely theoretical matter, but a question of practical politics — the question whether under the caliph the chief power was to be in the hands of the new class of '*ulamā*' or their rivals consisting of the old administrators, the secretaries and perhaps others. It is the same cleavage that has already been spoken of as a cleavage between the constitutionalist bloc and the autocratic bloc, and on each side there were both religious and political aspects. Ad-Dārimī suggests that Shī'ism was a convenient disguise for heretical and even non-Islamic views;<sup>2</sup> and some secretaries who were previously

<sup>1</sup> Similarly the Zaydiyyah (see below) are not men planning to revolt under a descendant of Zayd.

<sup>2</sup> Ed. Vitestam, 99.



Manichaeans or Zindīqs may have professed Shī'ism, doubtless in an extreme form. The moderate Rāfiḍites, however, must have supported the 'Abbāsids; and it is to be remembered that at this period (since the time of al-Mahdī, 775-85) the claim of the 'Abbāsids to the caliphate was based on the fact that they were the descendants of al-'Abbās, the Prophet's uncle, and therefore had a "divine right" of sorts.<sup>1</sup>

Now Abū 'l-Hudhayl was an opponent of the Rāfiḍites. Without deciding which of the two sides at the Battle of the Camel is right, he "associates with both". Thus he does not agree with the Rāfiḍites that 'Alī was entirely right; he therefore opposes the conception of the divinely-guided imam and does not insist that the rightful caliph must be such a person. This is in line with the fact that he is a member of the nascent body of '*ulamā*' or Traditionist movement. On the other hand he does not agree with the opponents of 'Alī, for, apart from admitting that Mu'āwiyah was wrong, he held the doctrine of the createdness of the Qur'ān, in direct contrast to what was coming to be the view of the main body of the Traditionists that the Qur'ān was uncreated. In short, it appears that he was trying to effect a compromise and to reconcile opposing blocs within the caliphate; he was not defending the 'Abbāsids against revolutionaries but trying to bring about a measure of reconciliation between divergent groups among those who accepted the 'Abbāsids. At the same time—and the two things are not entirely separate—he was trying to reconcile reason and revelation in the intellectual foundations of the Islamic community.

Bishr ibn-al-Mu'tamir is also trying to bring about a reconciliation, but at a different point. He accepts the assertions of the Rāfiḍites about 'Alī being right and his opponents wrong, but rejects the underlying assumptions. In holding that 'Alī was right he is in effect saying that the imam may be a good leader; he is perhaps even admitting that the true imam is divinely guided. With this, however, he couples a belief in the importance of the divinely-given law; this is implied, for example, in his view that the Arbiters were wrong because they did not judge according to the Book. His view might be formulated by saying that, while the scriptures and the imam were both important, neither could be the basis of the community to the exclusion of the other. Such a view promised to reduce

<sup>1</sup> An-Nawbakhtī, 43. The possibility that the Rāfiḍites wanted a purely spiritual imamate, though not mentioned, has not been overlooked. The whole question needs much further investigation.

tensions, and doubtless for this reason was made the basis of policy by al-Ma'mūn. For a time the chief judge, Ibn-Abī-Du'ād, was a follower of Bishr.

A later stage in the development of the political attitudes of the Mu'tazilah is to be seen in al-Aṣamm and al-Jāhīz.<sup>1</sup> Al-Aṣamm was a judge under al-Mu'taṣim (833-42), but there are few other biographical details about him. Al-Jāhīz, well-known as a belle-lettrist, died in 869. Both were adherents for a time of a party known as the 'Uthmāniyyah, but al-Jāhīz is said to have varied in his views, sometimes to have argued for the 'Uthmāniyyah against the Rāfīdites, and sometimes for the Zaydiyyah against the 'Uthmāniyyah and the Ahl as-Sunnah.<sup>2</sup> Such a change of view is not surprising in the light of the political vicissitudes of the time — notably the policy of the Miḥnah and then the abandonment of it (about 849). The 'Uthmānite period of al-Jāhīz (if we may trust this report) must have been before the death of his Mu'tazilite critic, al-Iskāfī, in 854; perhaps in his later years he inclined to Zaydite views and accepted the imamate of 'Alī.

The main political views ascribed to al-Aṣamm are two: firstly, that 'Alī, Ṭalḥah and Mu'āwiyah are to be judged right or wrong according to their motives, namely, whether they were seeking the good of the Muslims or their own advancement<sup>3</sup> — since men's motives are not open to inspection, this may have been a method of avoiding a decision on these men; secondly, the position of anyone as imam should rest on the consensus (*ijmā'*) of the Muslims, so that Mu'āwiyah was truly imam, but 'Alī never was.<sup>4</sup> This fits in well with what is said elsewhere about the 'Uthmānites being agreed in rejecting the imamate of 'Alī.<sup>5</sup> Since al-Jāhīz has less to say in support of the merits of 'Uthmān than in criticism of the alleged superiority of 'Alī to Abū Bakr, it seems clear that the name "Uthmānite" was an opprobrious nickname given by opponents; those to whom it was applied were neither specially interested in 'Uthmān nor supporters of the Umayyads, but there was a sting

<sup>1</sup> Mentioned together as upholders of the 'Uthmānite doctrine by al-Iskāfī in Ibn Abī-Hadīd, *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāghah*, ap. al-Jāhīz, *'Uthmāniyyah*, Cairo, 1955, 305.

<sup>2</sup> Ibn Qutaybah (d. 889), *Ta'wil . . . Ḥadīth*, 71. In *'Uthmāniyyah*, 176, the 'Uthmānites are said to be mostly jurists and Traditionists.

<sup>3</sup> Al-Ash'arī, *Maqālāt*, ii. 457, 453.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 460, 456.

<sup>5</sup> *'Uthmāniyyah*, 176.4.

about it. The aim of the doctrine was presumably to justify the caliphate of the 'Abbāsid family as resting on the consensus of the Muslims — a doctrine which would indicate a swing from the views of the autocratic bloc to those of the constitutionalists; but many, even moderate, sections of the autocratic bloc must have been so infuriated by the doctrine that it could have been of little importance to politicians. A later stage of this same argument is seen in the view ascribed to al-Jubbā'i (d. 915) about 'Uthmān; he did not know whether he or 'Alī was superior, but admitted as a possibility that 'Uthmān might be superior.<sup>1</sup>

The question of the relations between the Mu'tazilah and the Zaydiyyah is relevant to the points considered, but there is too much obscurity to make a full discussion profitable in the present context. Thus the Mu'tazilite al-Khayyāṭ says that Ja'far ibn-Mubashshir was responsible for converting some followers of the Zaydite Sulaymān ibn-Jarīr to Mu'tazilism, whereas the later Ash'arite heresiographer ash-Shahrastānī notes that among the Mu'tazilites who followed the political views of Sulaymān ibn-Jarīr were this Ja'far and Ja'far ibn-Ḥarb;<sup>2</sup> Sulaymān held that 'Alī was superior but that there could be an "imamate of the inferior" (*mafḍūl* — sc. Abū Bakr, etc.). The following assertions appear to be safe. The Zaydites who show similarities to the Mu'tazilah were a ninth-century group (or late eighth-century) involved in the current discussions about 'Alī, Abū Bakr and the rest. These discussions had a contemporary reference, and the Zaydite position was the justification for a type of compromise; but there were slight differences in the application of the name by different persons and at different times. The Zaydite position had similarities to that of the historical Zayd ibn 'Alī, but there was little direct influence.

The Mu'tazilah continued to exist for at least another two centuries. Since some were judges, they must have been in general supporters of the caliphate and the sultanate. Their basic political conception, being a form of compromise, had proved no solution to the tensions of the empire; as they had no contribution to make in the new situations which appeared after 950, they gradually faded out. The political attitudes of the Mu'tazilah are reminiscent of the attempts of the Byzantine emperors to pacify their realm by politically imposed theological compromises. Such compromises

<sup>1</sup> Al-Ash'arī, *Maqālāt*, ii. 459. He also held (ib. 463) that Baghdad was *dār kufr*.

<sup>2</sup> *Intiṣār*, 89; *Milāl*, i. 259f. Cf. L. Massignon in *Der Islam*, iii (1912), 409.

are superficially attractive — and politicians are mostly thinking of immediate problems — but they fail to satisfy the deeper religious feelings of both sides, and therefore prove ineffective in the long run. The most valuable part of Mu'tazilite thought was the attempt to reconcile reason and revelation; yet even here they were less successful in finding an adequate formulation than was al-Ash'arī, who made revelation primary, but gave an important subordinate place to reason. Politically this meant that (in so far as public opinion continued to count in politics) the Qur'ān and the Sunnah were to be supreme. It was the victory of the constitutionalist bloc or, in religious terms, the Sunnites.

### 3. *The Origins of the Mu'tazilah.*

The later heresiographers, who are either in the Mu'tazilite-Ash'arite tradition or largely dependent on it, speak of the Mu'tazilite sect as founded by Wāṣil ibn-'Aṭā' and as continuing from him in an unbroken line. Early ninth-century opponents had no clear perception of this relationship of contemporary Mu'tazilites to Wāṣil; and much in the earlier sources is at variance with it. The relationship of Wāṣil to 'Amr ibn-'Ubayd is not clear. The usual later account is that 'Amr was a pupil of Wāṣil, but they are sometimes mentioned together as if roughly equal, and occasionally 'Amr alone is named as founder and leader of the Mu'tazilites.<sup>1</sup>

To complicate the matter there is one passage where Wāṣil, 'Amr and a third person, Ḍirār, are mentioned as "roots" of the Mu'tazilah.<sup>2</sup> Wāṣil and Ḍirār are here reported to have had political views not unlike those of Abū 'l-Hudhayl, while the views of 'Amr resemble those of Bishr ibn-al-Mu'tamir. Ḍirār is known as an early speculator in philosophical theology, and is said to have been the chief "professor" in Baṣrah before Abū 'l-Hudhayl.<sup>3</sup> He may be the originator of the celebrated Ash'arite compromise according to which God creates human acts and men "acquire" them (*kasaba*). He probably gave much of its impetus to the philosophical movement out of which Abū 'l-Hudhayl developed. The quotations from Ibn-ar-Rāwandī in *K. al-Intiṣār* show that he and several other men were

<sup>1</sup> *Intiṣār*, 134; *Uthmāniyyah*, 265.10. For the sources of the heresiographers see H. Ritter in *Der Islam*, xviii, 34ff.

<sup>2</sup> *An-Nawbakhtī*, 11.16.

<sup>3</sup> *Al-Malaṭī, Tanbīh*, 30; L. Massignon, *Essai . . . Lexique Technique*<sup>2</sup>, 167; see also *Free Will and Predestination*, 104.

popularly regarded as Mu'tazilites, though al-Khayyāf and later members of the sect denied that they were; and there is no suggestion that Ḍirār was influenced by Wāṣil and 'Amr.

From all these references the conclusion is that there was no clearly defined group of followers of Wāṣil and 'Amr until towards the middle of the ninth century. A beginning of marking off a group is seen in the verses by Bishr ibn-al-Mu'tamir where he says he follows 'Amr and has nothing to do with other people unnamed (perhaps including Ḍirār) who follow Jahm. The completion of the marking-off process is seen in the passage where al-Khayyāf defines a Mu'tazilite as one who accepts all the five points he enumerates.<sup>1</sup> From this time the old popular use of "Mu'tazilite" disappears, and the Mu'tazilah has become a compact clearly-defined body, even if not without internal differences. Once this point is appreciated it is seen that the claim of Bishr and others to be followers of Wāṣil and 'Amr is a defence against the accusation of being Jahmites. Merely to deny such an accusation is not enough; there must be a positive contrary assertion. So Bishr, we suppose, looked for a suitable person to whom to attach himself, and found 'Amr ibn-'Ubayd, a respectable Traditionist, whose political views were close to his own. Others preferred Wāṣil; and perhaps this choice, and his eventual place of honour, was due to his being less under the suspicion of pro-'Alid sympathies.

If it may be assumed that we have sufficient reliable information about Wāṣil and 'Amr to know what their views were, there is some similarity. Wāṣil may be taken to be the inventor of the conception of *al-manzilah bayn al-manzilatayn* or "the intermediate status". His view, briefly, was that the wrongdoer or sinner from the Islamic community is neither a believer (as the Murji'ites said) nor an unbeliever (as the Khārijites said) but is in "the intermediate status". Such views had practical consequences. For the extreme Khārijites the wrongdoer was excluded from the community and could be killed without blame. Since the Khārijites regarded the Umayyad dynasty as wrongdoers, this meant that rebellion against them was permissible or, for the extremists, obligatory. The Murji'ite view led to thoroughgoing support for the Umayyads. There were also moderate Khārijites who accepted life under Umayyad rule as a practical necessity, though without condoning their "wrongdoing". Wāṣil flourished during the caliphate of Hishām, and his views must therefore be

<sup>1</sup> *Intiṣār*, 126.



looked at in the situation under the Umayyads. They are not far removed from those of the moderate Khārijites, for Wāṣil does not condone wrongdoing and say the wrongdoer is a believer; on the other hand, since he is not an unbeliever, there is no obligation to fight against him (though there might perhaps be grounds for punishing him if one had power to do so).<sup>1</sup>

To Wāṣil is also ascribed a refusal to decide whether 'Alī or the opposition to him was right.<sup>2</sup> This is not the same as the intermediate status, but both could be comprehended under the description of neutralism. If the views about 'Alī and his opponents are really those of Wāṣil and not those of Abū 'l-Hudhayl projected backwards, they indicate a refusal to take either a Shī'ite or a Khārijite position, and they anticipate the later Sunni acceptance of all the Companions. In so far as both Wāṣil and the later Mu'tazilites are neutralists politically, there is justification for calling them his followers, though neutralism had different applications in different periods.

This does not mean, however, that the later accounts of the origin of the Mu'tazilah are correct. There was no clearly-defined body of Mu'tazilites until 800, perhaps not until 850. Wāṣil and 'Amr were members of the large heterogeneous group, out of which developed the later body of 'ulamā' and Traditionists. Part of this large group became interested — perhaps about 780 or 790 — in the philosophical questions involved in their religious beliefs, though others disapproved of discussions in the field of philosophical theology. Eventually those philosophical theologians who agreed on the five principles mentioned by al-Khayyāṭ recognized one another, and were recognized by outsiders, as constituting a distinct body, the Mu'tazilah. It seems unlikely that Wāṣil and 'Amr had any special influence on the later Mu'tazilites, apart from their influence on the large heterogeneous group as a whole. They probably favoured the 'Abbāsīd movement when they came to know of it, though it seems unlikely that they were propagandists for the new dynasty, as H. S. Nyberg has maintained, in view of their differences from Abū Muslim; but Nyberg's conjecture cannot be finally rejected until some mysterious verses about Wāṣil and his emissaries have been elucidated.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The Mu'tazilah in general approved of armed operations where these were likely to be successful — al-Ash'arī, *Maqālāt*, ii. 451. Early statements of the conception of the *manzilah* are *Intiṣār*, 164f.; al-Ash'arī, *Maqālāt*, i. 270.1.

<sup>2</sup> An-Nawbakhtī, 11f.; *Intiṣār*, 97f.

<sup>3</sup> Nyberg, art. "Mu'tazila", *EI* (1); C. Pellat, *Le Milieu Basrien*, 175f. Nyberg's more recent treatment of 'Amr ibn 'Ubayd in the Bordeaux Symposium



4. *I'tizāl* and *Irjā'*

A parallelism cannot but be noticed between the names Mu'tazilah and Murji'ah, especially when the doctrines of the two sects are referred to by the corresponding verbal nouns, *i'tizāl* and *irjā'*. Does this indicate that they are roughly parallel in time and (as opponents) complementary to one another? To the second part of this question the answer is that it is not clear that they are complementary opposites. The difficulty is rather to distinguish one from the other. In many cases there is doubt whether a man is to be regarded as a Murji'ite or a Mu'tazilite; some men are called Mu'tazilites but said to hold something of the *irjā'*.<sup>1</sup> Such statements sometimes belong to later dates, and may use the words in the later senses. Our problem is to try to say what the original difference was.

Both Murji'ites and Mu'tazilites were trying to find a middle way between the Shī'ites and the Khārijites. The Murji'ites got their name from the fact that they "postponed" (*arja'a*) the decision about wrongdoers of the community, that is, left it to God on the Last Day; in the present they treated them as believers. In accordance with this view they defined belief or faith (*īmān*) as consisting in the intellectual acceptance of doctrines (sometimes with affective accompaniments — love of God) and in the public profession of this. The Mu'tazilites included and placed much emphasis on the performance of the acts commanded by God.<sup>2</sup> Under the Umayyads this meant that the Murji'ites, though not denying that the Umayyads were wrongdoers, were prepared to accept them as believers and to support them, whereas for Wāṣil they were still wrongdoers and were not in general to be supported.

Under the 'Abbāsids this difference cannot have been politically important, since the rulers were not regarded as wrongdoers. At most the Mu'tazilites were slightly more rigorous against wrongdoers than the Murji'ites. Perhaps, too, some rivalry persisted for personal reasons. Prominent among the Murji'ites was Abū Ḥanīfah (though in no way a heretic) and some of his followers. Some Ḥanafites accepted the new discipline of philosophical theology, but they seem to have developed it in conjunction with their own

(*Classicisme et Déclin Culturel*, Paris, 1957, 125–36, esp. 127) makes clear the dependence of his theory on the interpretation of the verses.

<sup>1</sup> e.g., Ghaylān; cf. *Munyah*, ed. Arnold, 33.5, 14; 35.3; 69.15; an-Nawbakhti, 9 foot.

<sup>2</sup> e.g., *Maqālāt*, i. 132–41, 266–70.

view of the roots of law. Against them the Mu'tazilites argued for their own distinctive doctrines, and criticized the Murji'ite legal principles of *ra'y* and *qiyās*.<sup>1</sup> After the (mainly Shāfi'ite) Ash'arites had adopted Mu'tazilite logical methods and made themselves into a school, they found opposing them the theological school of the Māturīdites, which was almost entirely Ḥanafite. Perhaps there is more than meets the eye in the cleavage between the Mu'tazilah and the Murji'ah in the early 'Abbāsīd period.

As Nyberg pointed out, the pre-Islamic meaning of *i'tizāl* was withdrawing from a conflict and remaining neutral.<sup>2</sup> In the Umayyad period a policy of neutralism could be interpreted in various ways, some of these compatible with strong preference for the 'Abbāsīds, though hardly with active propaganda. By the time of al-Khayyāṭ in the ninth century, however, political changes had obscured the original meaning of *i'tizāl*, and neutralism had no obvious relevance to contemporary problems. It is thus not strange to find the word *i'tizāl* ceasing to refer to neutralism, and being applied instead to the doctrinal system of the Mu'tazilah (the five principles).<sup>3</sup> It was acceptance of these five principles that made a man a Mu'tazilite and not any particular political views; we have already noticed the criticism of al-Jāhīz by al-Iskāfī for his "Uthmānism". Of the five principles the most prominent both for the Mu'tazilites themselves and in the popular view were those of "justice" and "unity", the principles least relevant to politics. Though the Mu'tazilah had their political side, it was not politics which produced the flowering of Mu'tazilite speculation, but the deep need to remove the tension between the new religion of Islam and the older culture of the lands the Muslims had conquered.

The final picture we obtain is of a relatively obscure movement of political neutralism in intellectual circles in Baṣrah towards the end of the Umayyad period, which became lost in the general intellectual ferment there. Later, when some of the '*ulamā*' of Baṣrah became interested in Greek philosophy and were nicknamed Jahmites, they reacted by claiming to be followers of 'Amr ibn-'Ubayd and Wāṣil and by giving a theological definition of *i'tizāl*. The story purporting to show that the name was derived from Wāṣil's "withdrawal" from the circle of al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī is doubtless apocryphal, but

<sup>1</sup> Cf., *Intiṣār*, 89.

<sup>2</sup> *EI* (1) art. "Mu'tazila: for another instance cf. at-Tibrīzī, *Sharḥ al-Ḥamāsah*, Būlāq, 1296, ii. 36.

<sup>3</sup> *Intiṣār*, 126.

suitably expresses the separation of the Mu'tazilah from the rest of the 'ulamā' and Traditionists, which occurred in the ninth century.

\* \* \* \* \*

Adequate treatment of the questions raised in this article would require much more space; but some of the suggestions made have enough *prima facie* probability to warrant presenting them as they are for the consideration of other scholars.

LIST OF MALAY MANUSCRIPTS  
IN THE LIBRARY OF THE  
ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY, LONDON

By P. VOORHOEVE

THIS LIST CONTAINS the titles of the Raffles and Farquhar MSS., drawn from Van der Tuuk's catalogue as edited by R. Rost in *Miscellaneous Papers relating to Indo-China and the Indian Archipelago*, vol. ii, 1887, pp. 1-56 (after the original in *JRAS.*, N.S., vol. ii, pp. 85-135, revised from the Dutch translation in *BKI*, III, 1, pp. 409-474, and with additional notes by Rost). I have added dates of MSS. and references to Van der Tuuk's notes about them found in some Leiden MSS. For the Maxwell collection this list reproduces Blagden's inventory (*JRAS.*, 1899, pp. 121-129) with small corrections and the addition of other Malay manuscripts since presented by other donors. Some references to printed editions for which the R.A.S. MSS. have been used are also added. In a few cases some new notes about the contents of the texts have been given, mostly taken from information supplied by Sir R. O. Winstedt, who has also made the descriptions of the additional MSS. Maxwell 106 *et sqq.*

Raffles Mal. 1. Large fol. Pp. 460. Paper dated 1801. Unused copy (i.e. not showing any sign of having been read before it came into Raffles' possession, so probably copied for Raffles). *Hikayat Hang Tuah*. Niemann's MS.A.

Raffles Mal. 2. Large fol. Pp. 283. Paper dated 1811. *Hikayat perang Pandawa Jaya*. Outlined TBG 21 pp. 1-90 (Van der Tuuk), Winstedt, *HML*<sup>2</sup>, 170-184. Abstr. by Winstedt: *Rampai* 2 III.

Raffles Mal. 3. Large fol. Pp. 244. Paper dated 1811. *Hikayat Rangga Arya Kuda Nĕstapa*. Imperfect at the end.

Raffles Mal. 4. Fol. Pp. 246. Paper dated 1811. *Hikayat Bayan Budiman*. Ending abruptly.

Raffles Mal. 5. Fol. Pp. 315. Paper dated 1811. *Hikayat Damar Bulan*. Abstr. by Winstedt: *Rampai* 2 III.

Raffles Mal. 6. Large fol. Pp. 414. Paper dated 1811. *Hikayat Shahrul Kamar*, redaction of *Ht. Shah Kubad*.

Raffles Mal. 7. Fol. Dated at the end of (4): 1235 (A.D. 1819).

- (1) Pp. 71. *Shair Bidasari*.
- (2) Pp. 69. *Shair Ken Tambuhan*.
- (3) Pp. 26. *Shair Silindung Dēlima*. Copied in MS. Paris, mal.-pol. 51.
- (4) Pp. 10. *Shair ikan tambēra*.

Raffles Mal. 8. Fol. Pp. 367. Paper dated 1807.

*Bustān as-salāṭīn* by Nūr ad-Dīn ar-Rānīrī. Niemann's MS.A. According to Van der Tuuk this MS. contains 4 books and a few pages of the fifth, but book III is not found in it. Raffles Mal. 42 also lacks book III; the texts of MSS. 8 and 42 are closely related. Book III is found only in a copy in the Malay Studies Department, University of Malaya, Kuala Lumpur, which contains books I-V.

Raffles Mal. 9. Fol. Pp. 160. Paper dated 1810.

*Hikayat Indēra Putēra*.

Raffles Mal. 10. Fol. Paper dated 1813.

A collection of transcripts of *treaties* between the Dutch E.I.Cy and several native states in the Indian Archipelago.

Raffles Mal. 11. Fol. Pp. 151, only written half-way down. Dated 1815.

*Hikayat Damar Bulan*, abridged version.

Raffles Mal. 12. Fol. Pp. 444. Paper dated 1812.

*Hikayat Bērma Shahdan*.

(There is no No. 13 in the Raffles Malay collection.)

Raffles Mal. 14. Fol. Pp. 456. Paper dated 1812; text dated 1235 (A.D. 1819).

*Hikayat Charang Kulina*. MSS. of this work are not as rare as was once supposed; there are copies in the Br.Mus. (Add. 12383), Cambridge (Add. 3765 and 3776) and Brussels (21513). Cp. M. 134.

Raffles Mal. 15. Sm. fol. Pp. 180. Paper dated 1812. Colophon: Tērsurat pada kampung Kērukut pada tahun 181(5?) pada Hijrah 1219 (this must be an error, as 1219 A.H. corresponds to A.D. 1804).

*Hikayat Maharaja Boma*. Abstracts by Van der Tuuk: Leiden, Cod. Or. 3300 pp. 120-143; by Winstedt in *Rampai* 2 III. Outlined by Van der Tuuk *TBG* 21, pp. 191-201; by Winstedt *HML*<sup>2</sup>, 184; by Teeuw, *Het Bhomakāwya*, 21.



Raffles Mal. 16. Fol. Pp. 206. Paper dated 1812.

*Hikayat Isma Yatim*. Abstracts by Van der Tuuk: Leiden, Cod. Or. 3260a.

Raffles Mal. 17.  $12\frac{1}{2}'' \times 8''$ . Pp. 225 + 98. Paper dated 1812, text 1815.

(1) *Bustān as-salāṭīn*, book VII, in 5 chapters.

(2) *Tāj as-salāṭīn*, unfinished.

Abstracts by Van der Tuuk: Leiden, Cod. Or. 3260a, b.

Raffles Mal. 18. Fol. Pp. 202. Water-mark C. Wilmott 1812.

*Sējaraḥ Mēlayu*. Abstracts by Van der Tuuk: Leiden, Cod. Or. 3300 pp. 41–81. Printed by R. O. Winstedt, *JRASMB.*, Dec., 1938, Vol. XVI, pt. 3. Corrigenda Vol. XVIII, pt. 2, pp. 154–5. Translation by C. C. Brown, *JRASMB.*, Vol. 25 pts. 2 & 3. Index by P. E. de Josselin de Jong, *JRASMB.*, Vol. 34, pt. 2. Cf. Voorhoeve, *BKI.*, 108, p. 208.

Raffles Mal. 19, 20. 2 vols. Fol. Pp. 331 and 365. Paper dated 1812. *Hikayat Dalang Pēnguda Asmara*.

Raffles Mal. 21. Sm. fol. Pp. 669. Paper dated 1812.

*Hikayat Pandawa pancha kalima*. Cf. Winstedt, *HML*<sup>2</sup>, p. 44.

Raffles Mal. 22.  $11\frac{1}{4}'' \times 7''$ . Pp. 723. The beginning is wanting. Partly on paper bearing the water-mark 1814 and the initials G.S., and partly on paper with the water-mark Beauvais.

*Hikayat Sēri Rama*. Abstracts by Winstedt, *Rampai* 2 III. Cf. R. O. Winstedt, 'An undescribed Malay version of the Ramayana', *JRAS.*, 1944, pp. 62–73.

Raffles Mal. 23. Fol. Pp. 698. Paper dated 1812.

*Hikayat Chekel Waneng Pati*. Abstracts by Winstedt, *Rampai* 2 III. Outlined *HML*<sup>2</sup>, 187.

Raffles Mal. 24. 2 vols. Fol. Pp. 446 and 450. Copied 1228 (A.D. 1813) in Kampung Mēlayu, Sēmarang.

*Salasilah raja-raja ditanah Jawa*. Copied in MS. Paris, mal.-pol. 43.

Raffles Mal. 25. Fol. Pp. 304. Paper dated 1812.

*Hikayat Endang Malat Rasmi*.

Raffles Mal. 26. Fol. Pp. 239. Dated 1200 (A.D. 1786).

*Hikayat Panji Wila Kēsoma*. Abstract by Van der Tuuk in Leiden, Cod. Or. 3260a.



Raffles Mal. 27, 28. 2 vols. Fol. Pp. 347, 348. Dated 1194 (A.D. 1781).

*Hikayat Chekel Waneng Pati.*

Raffles Mal. 29. Fol. Pp. 645. Ends abruptly. No date or water-mark; it is an unused copy bearing Raffles' name.

*Hikayat Naga Běrsěru?*

Raffles Mal. 30. Sm. fol. Pp. 74. Dated 1235 (A.D. 1819).

*Daftar sějarah Chěrěbon.* Copied by Van der Tuuk (Leiden, Cod. Or. 3300a).

Raffles Mal. 31. Fol. Pp. 411. No date. Thin paper without water-mark. Doubtlessly copied for Raffles.

*Hikayat Shah Kubad.*

Raffles Mal. 32. Fol. Paper dated 1806. Text dated 1223 (A.D. 1808). According to a note by R.O.W. written in Riau.

- (1) Pp. 11. An account of various ceremonials, customs and laws.
- (2) Pp. 5. A story about Inděrapura being attacked by garfishes.
- (3) Pp. 5. Arrival of the Portuguese at Malaka. Transl. by Raffles in *Asiatick Researches*, XII, p. 115.
- (4) Belonging to (1): Coloured figures of flags.
- (5) Pp. 63. Episode from a *Hikayat Dewa Bisnu?*

Abstracts from this MS. by Van der Tuuk, Leiden, Cod. Or. 3300 pp. 380-411.

Raffles Mal. 33. Fol. Dated at Pulau Pinang, 1220 (A.D. 1806).

- (1) Pp. 11. A collection of laws.
- (2) Pp. 44. Laws, some of which are maritime.
- (3) Pp. 8. Fragments of a law book.

The above three sections are described by J. E. Kempe and R. O. Winstedt in 'A legal Miscellany', *JRASMB.*, XXV pt. 1 (1952), pp. 1-19. Cp. *JRASMB.*, XXIX pt. 3, p. 22.

- (4) Pp. 6. *Kětika rějang.*
- (5) Pp. 3. *Kětika tujuh.*
- (6) Pp. 6. *Kětika lima.*

Raffles Mal. 34. Fol. About 120 pp. Paper dated 1800. Text dated 1221 (A.D. 1806).

Collection of 38 various pieces described on a fly-leaf as *Undang-undang Měngkasar dan Bugis*. Cp. *JRASMB.*, XXIX pt. 3, p. 23.

- (1, 4, 9, 11) Fragments of law, Malay and Muslim.

- (2, 3, 10, 14-17, 19-23, 25, 29-38) Divination, charms and receipts.  
 (5) Treaty between Speelman and Hasanuddin, king of Goa.  
 (6, 8, 12, 18, 19 [?], 26, 28) Chronicle of Macassar.  
 (7) Contract made by Malay merchants with a king of Goa.  
 Dr. A. A. Cense informs me that according to the Goa historical tradition the king who made this contract was Tunipalangga (died 1550), not 'Alauddin (1591 [?]-1639), as the Malay text has.  
 (13) About *sěmbahyang*.  
 (24, 27) Agreement between the Dutch E.I.Cy and the Kapitan Mělayu at Macassar.

Abstracts by Van der Tuuk from this volume: Leiden, Cod. Or. 3260.

Raffles Mal. 35. Fol. Pp. 117. Dated 1222 (A.D. 1807).  
*Sějarah Mělayu*; first 16 chapters of Shellabear's edition down to the removal of Sultan Mansur Shah to a new palace.

Raffles Mal. 36. Fol. Pp. 130. Paper dated 1812.  
*Shair Bidasari*. Ends abruptly.

Raffles Mal. 37. Fol. Pp. 151. Paper dated 1812.  
*Hikayat Inděra Putěra*. Ends abruptly.

Raffles Mal. 38. Sm. fol. Pp. 87. Paper dated 1812.  
*Hikayat Kalilah dan Daminah*. Abstracts by Winstedt, *Rampai* 2 VI.

Raffles Mal. 39. Fol. Pp. 120. Dated 1227 (A.D. 1812).  
*Sějarah Mělayu*. Contents as in nr. 35.

Raffles Mal. 40. Fol. Pp. 320. Water-mark: Fence of Holland, and crowned ANN? Had been used before it came into Raffles' possession.  
*Hikayat Mesa Lara Kěsuma*.

Raffles Mal. 41.  $11\frac{1}{2}'' \times 7\frac{1}{2}''$ . Pp. 60+170. Water-mark: Fence of Holland; crowned GR. Unused copy.

(1) *Wukon Jawa*.

(2) *Tolak běnchana wuku yang 30*.

Copied from this MS.: Leiden Cod. Or. 3302; Paris mal.-pol. 34.

Raffles Mal. 42. Fol. Pp. 440. Fine old manuscript. Water-mark: Crown and G. R. Owner's mark: Pontiana Nov. 2d 1812 and an English name I cannot decipher.

- (1) *Bustān as-salāṭīn* I, II, IV, V. Niemann's MS.B. Abstracts by Van der Tuuk: Leiden, Cod. Or. 3260d (from book II), 3300 (from book IV). Copy of the introduction and II, 12, 13 by Niemann: Cod. Or. 5443.
- (2) *Tāj as-salāṭīn*.

Raffles Mal. 43. Sm. fol. Pp. 142. Unused copy, dated in Javanese numbers warsa 1742 (A.D. 1814).

*Hikayat Dalang Pēnguda Asmara*.

Raffles Mal. 44. 4to. Pp. 303. Dated A.J. 1742, A.H. 1230 (A.D. 1814).

*Hikayat Chabui Tunggul*.

Raffles Mal. 45. 4to. Pp. 278. Dated A.J. 1742 (A.D. 1814).

*Hikayat Chekel Waneng Pati*.

Raffles Mal. 46. Large 4to. Pp. 306. Dated A.H. 1230 (A.D. 1814).

*Hikayat Dewa Mandu*.

Raffles Mal. 47. 4to. Javanese paper (daluang). Dated 1203 (A.D. 1788/89).

(1) Pp. 248. *Hikayat Mesa Indēra Dewa Kēsuma*.

(2) Pp. 64. Fragments of *Tāj as-salāṭīn*.

(3) Pp. 18. *Mu'jizat Rasul Allah mēmēnggal bulan*, i.e. *Hikayat bulan bērbēlah*. Abstr. by Van der Tuuk Leiden, Cod. Or. 3300 pp. 159-170.

(4) Pp. 5. *Hikayat Fartana Islam*.

Raffles Mal. 48. Sm. 4to. Pp. 210. Dated A.H. 1163 (A.D. 1750). *Sharḥ yang laṭīf atas Mukhtaṣar Jauharat at-Tauḥīd*, a Malay commentary on Ibrāhīm al-Laḳānī's Arabic poem on the Muslim creed, translated from the Arabic by Shihāb ad-Dīn ibn 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad al-Jāwī.

Raffles Mal. 49. 4to. Pp. 56. Dated A.H. 1226 (A.D. 1811). Paper dated 1808.

A *shair* containing the celebration of a king of *Bintan*. Copied by Van der Tuuk in: Leiden, Cod. Or. 3260a.

Raffles Mal. 50. Sm. 4to. Pp. 96. Same paper as nr. 49.

*Hikayat Tamīm ad-Dārī*. Abstr. by Winstedt, *Rampai* 2 V.

Raffles Mal. 51. Sm. 4to. Pp. 149. Dated A.J. 1742, A.H. 1230 (A.D. 1814).

*Hikayat Dalang Pēnguda Asmara*.

Raffles Mal. 52. 4to. Pp. 140. Dated A.J. 1742, A.H. 1229 (A.D. 1813/14). From the Regent of Demak.

*Hikayat Raja Babi.*

Raffles Mal. 53. Sm. 4to. Dated 1229 (A.D. 1813/14).

(1) Pp. 98. *Hikayat si Miskin* (= *Ht. Marakarma*).

(2) Pp. 26. *Shair ikan.*

Raffles Mal. 54. Sm. 4to. Pp. 293. Dated A.J. 1742 (A.D. 1814).  
From the Regent of Demak.

*Hikayat Ahmad Bisnu.*

Raffles Mal. 55. Sm. 4to. Pp. 262. Dated 1229 (A.D. 1813/14).  
From the Regent of Demak.

*Hikayat Indëra Putëra.*

Raffles Mal. 56. 4to. Pp. 412. Blue paper with water-mark:  
ALMASSO and arms with: Gior. Magnani; white paper with  
Dutch lion. Some traces of use.

*Hikayat Badî' az-Zamân* ending with the death of 'Umar Maya.  
It is an appendix to the *Hikayat Amir Hamzah*; cf. Van Ronkel,  
*De roman van Amir Hamza*, pp. 167-175.

Raffles Mal. 57. 4to. Pp. 332. Dated 1803/04. Paper of J. Honig;  
lily, H & Z.

*Hikayat Indëra Kayangan.*

Raffles Mal. 58. Sm. 4to. Unused copy. From the Regent of  
Demak.

(1) Pp. 85, ends abruptly. *Hikayat Raja Shah Johan Indëra  
Mëngindëra*, a different version of the *Hikayat Shah Kubad*.

(2) Pp. 34. *Hikayat Putëri Jauhar Manikam.*

Abstracts by Van der Tuuk: Leiden, Cod. Or. 3300 pp. 174-178.

Raffles Mal. 59. Sm. 4to. Pp. 196. Unused copy. From the Regent  
of Demak.

*Hikayat Kalilah dan Daminah.*

Raffles Mal. 60. Sm. 4to. Pp. 106. Dated 1230 (A.D. 1814/15).  
From the Regent of Demak.

*Hikayat Shah Mardan.*

Raffles Mal. 61. Sm. 4to. Pp. 150. Dated 1230 (A.D. 1814/15).  
From the Regent of Demak.

*Hikayat Shamsu'l-barri.*

Raffles Mal. 62. 4to. Dated 1227 (A.D. 1812).

- (1) Pp. 158. *Hikayat Isma Yatim*.
- (2) Pp. 12. *Hikayat bulan bərbəlah*.
- (3) Pp. 65. *Sēribu masā'il*. MS. O of Pijper's edition. Abstr. by Van der Tuuk: Leiden, Cod. Or. 3300 pp. 170-174.
- (4) Pp. 9. *Chēritēra nabi Allah Musa munajat dibukit Tūr Sīnā*.
- (5) Pp. 5. *Hikayat Fatimah kawin*.
- (6) Pp. 5. *Hikayat Rasul Allah bērchukur*.

Raffles Mal. 63. 4to. Pp. 349. Paper dated 1811.

*Hikayat Bakhtiar*, first part of the longer version. Cf. Voorhoeve, *BKI*. 112 pp. 416-417. Mr. E. M. F. Payne found a copy in Patani which has 105 intercalated tales. Abstr. from the Raffles MS. by Winstedt: *Rampai* 2 VI.

Raffles Mal. 64. 9½" × 7½". Pp. 238. Dated 1814.

*Tāj as-salāṭīn*.

Raffles Mal. 65. Sm. 4to. Pp. 152. Paper: Honig; unused and the same handwriting as some other MSS. copied for Raffles.

*Shair Angreni*.

Raffles Mal. 66. Sm. 4to. Pp. 223. Chinese paper; looks rather old. Various handwritings.

*Hikayat Shah Mardan*.

Raffles Mal. 67. 9" × 8". Pp. 73. Dated 1230 (A.D. 1814/15).

Javanese postscript: from the Regent of Demak.

*Hikayat Raja-raja Pasai*. Cf. Winstedt, *HML*<sup>2</sup> pp. 127-129, 257. The 3 editions mentioned there are from this unique MS. Copied in Paris, mal.-pol. 50.

Raffles Mal. 68. Sm. 4to. Pp. 143. Dated 1223 (A.D. 1808) from an original dated 1081 A.H. (A.D. 1670).

*Sējarah Mēlayu*. Abstracts by Van der Tuuk: Leiden, Cod. Or. 3260a.

Raffles Mal. 69. Sm. 4to. Pp. 128. Dated 1223 (A.D. 1808).

*Bāb al-'aḳl kēpada sēgala orang bēsar-bēsar*. The preface states that it is the story of Sultan 'Alauddin Shah ibn Mansur Shah, ruler of Patani who told it to Bēndahara Firus and the children of Bēndahara Tun Usuf. Pp. 10-17: A crocodile ungrateful to his rescuer is outwitted by Mousedeer. Pp. 21-26: How the Royal Tiger ate the marrow of his Panther Mantri for medicine at the prompting of Mousedeer (ed. Winstedt, *Rampai* 2 IV). Pp. 30-37:



Story of Raja Indawat and his Mantri, from Hikayat Bayan Budiman. Pp. 47-65: Sitti Sabariah (idem). Pp. 66-93. Raja Gēmëtar (idem). Pp. 96-106: Tale of a stranger left sick in the jungle pitied by a woman whom he stabs accidentally, thinking her remark 'Flay the buffalo' referred to him and not, as it did, to cutting a jack-fruit. Followed by penalties (legal, pp. 104-106). Pp. 109-119. The man who gave half his years to his wife, from Hikayat Bayan Budiman. Pp. 120 et sqq.: Raja Sultan al-'alam Shah, a drunkard. This MS. was copied twice for l'Abbé Favre, one copy now in Paris, mal.-pol. 46, one in Djakarta, Van Ronkel's *Cat.* LXXVIII.

Raffles Mal. 70. Sm. 4to. Copied at Bangkahulu 29. IX. 1814 by Radin Muhammad Zain.

(1) Pp. 186. *Bustān as-salāṭīn*, book VII.

(2) Pp. 8. (*Hikayat lima fasal*), different from MS. India Office L.96(2).

Raffles Mal. 71. Sm. 4to. Pp. 196. Paper dated 1806.

*Hikayat Kalilah dan Damimah.*

Raffles Mal. 72. Sm. 4to. Pp. 44. Dated 1223 (A.D. 1808).

*Hikayat Maharaja 'Ali.*

Raffles Mal. 73. Sm. 4to. Pp. 420. Chinese paper, not much used.

*Hikayat Bayan Budiman.*

Raffles Mal. 74. Sm. 4to. Dutch paper. Has a note on family affairs, 1193 (A.D. 1779). Cp. *JRASMB.*, XXIX pt. 3, p. 23.

(1a) p. 1-28 *Undang-undang laut.*

(1b) p. 29-158 *Undang-undang Mēlaka.*

(1c) p. 158-169. *Undang-undang Sēlangor*, A.H. 1189.

(2) p. 166-196 *Kētika rējang.*

(3) Various prayers 197-200.

(4) *Kētika tujuh.*

(5) *Kētika lima.*

(6) Fragments of a religious work and tables belonging to (5). Abstracts from this MS. by Van der Tuuk: Leiden, Cod. Or. 3260c.

Raffles Mal. 75. Sm. 4to. May be somewhat older than Raffles' time.

(a) Pp. 6. Fragment of Malay laws.

(b) Pp. 1-141 Muslim law as described by Van der Tuuk; 142-143 Fragment from an Arabic work on law with Malay interlinear translation; 144-158 Arabic-Malay vocabulary; 159-180 on lawful foods.

(c) Pp. 13. Malay laws.



Raffles Mal. 76. Sm. 4to. May be somewhat older than Raffles' time.

- (1) Pp. 1-113. *Sĕjarah Mĕlayu*, 16 chapters, ch. 19-34 of Shellabear's edition, down to the killing of Tun 'Ali Hati.
- (2) Pp. 114-121. *Hikayat Sitti 'Abasah*. Cf. Van der Tuuk's note in Leiden, Cod. Or. 3260 L p. 720.
- (3) Pp. 122-123. The prince and the bulbul. (Story from Sheikh Saabi of a princeling catching a bird with two pearls in its stomach.)

Raffles Mal. 77. Sm. 4to. May be somewhat older than Raffles' time.

- (1) Pp. 4. *Shair pipit dan ĕnggang*.
- (2) Pp. 61. *Undang-undang laut*.
- (3) Pp. 20. *Undang-undang Kĕdah*.

Raffles Mal. 78. Sm. 4to. Paper dated 1812.

- (1) Pp. 62. *Shair pĕrang Inggĕris di-Bĕtawi*.
- (2) Pp. 2. *Shair chinta bĕrahi*.

There is a copy of this MS. in Paris, mal.-pol. 47.

Raffles Mal. 79. Sm. 4to. Chinese paper, unused.

- (1) Pp. 46. *Kitab tarasul*. Continued in (3).
- (2) Pp. 7. Fragments of a Muslim law book.
- (3) Pp. 49. Continuation of (1).
- (4) Pp. 7. *Shifā' al-kulūb* by Nūr ad-Dīn ar-Rānīrī.
- (5) Pp. 8. A tract addressed to 'Ali.
- (6) Pp. 2. Questions and answers about the sense of *saksi*.
- (7) Pp. 9. *Sifat dua puluh*.
- (8) Pp. 34. *'Umdat al-i'tikād* by Nūr ad-Dīn ar-Rānīrī.
- (9) Pp. 15. Arabic fragment from a commentary on the Qur'ān, with Malay translation.

Raffles Mal. 80. 4to. Pp. 312. Dated 1226 (A.D. 1811). Raffles is mentioned as owner.

*Sĕjarah Mĕlayu*. Contains the first 34 chapters in Shellabear's edition.

Farquhar 1. Sm. 4to. Pp. 51. Paper dated 1806, text dated 1232 (A.D. 1816/17).

*Undang-undang raja Mĕlaka*.

Farquhar 2. Sm. 4to. 3 vols.: 202, 206 and 112 pp. Dated 1232 (A.D. 1816/17).

*Hikayat Raja Iskandar Dhulkarnain*. MS. E of Van Leeuwen's edition.

Farquhar 3. Sm. 4to. Pp. 175. Dated 1230 (A.D. 1814/15).  
*Shair Hemop*. MS. B of Rusconi's edition. Cf. W. Kern in *TBG*. 82  
 (1948) pp. 211-257.

Farquhar 4. Sm. 4to. Pp. 80. Dated 1232 (A.D. 1816/17).  
*'Adat sĕgala raja-raja Mĕlayu*. Copied by W. C. Kläsi, Leiden, Cod.  
 Or. 4978 (Van Ronkel, *Suppl. Cat.* no. 126). Ed. Ph. S. van Ronkel,  
 Leiden 1929.

Farquhar 5. Sm. 4to. Pp. 263. Dated 1229 (A.D. 1814).  
*Sĕjarah Mĕlayu*. Contains the first 34 chapters of Shellabear's  
 edition.

Farquhar 6. Sm. 8vo. N.d.

- (1) Pp. 17. An erotic poem.
- (2) Pp. 14. A love-letter.
- (3) Pp. 11. *Shair bunga*.
- (4) Pp. 27. *Pantun*.
- (5) Pp. 23. Poem without title.

Farquhar 6 bis. Sm. 4to. Paper dated 1814.

- (1) Pp. 14. An erotic poem, the same as 6 (1).
- (2) Pp. 19. A love-letter.

Farquhar 7 (the same text as 7 bis) is missing.

Farquhar 7 bis. Sm. 8vo. Pp. 55. N.d.

*Shair Johan anak raja Perak*.

Farquhar 8. Sm. 4to. Pp. 175, imperfect at the end. Presented by  
 Col. W. G. M. Colebrooke, 1832. Water-mark: fence of Holland.  
*Bidāyat al-hidāyat*, Malay version of as-Sanūsī's *Umm al-barāhīn* by  
 Muḥammad Zain ibn al-Faḳīh Jalāluddīn al-Āshī.

Farquhar 9. Sm. 4to. N.d.

- (1) Pp. 17. *Shair bunga*.
- (2) Pp. 7. *Pantun*.

Farquhar 10. Sm. 4to. Pp. 53. Water-mark VG and three half-  
 moons. Thick paper.

*Undang-undang raja Mĕlaka*. In the text the year 1154 is mentioned.

Maxwell 1. 13" × 8". Ff. 110. 22 lines. Dated 1887.

*Hikayat Indĕra Putĕra*.

Maxwell 2. 12 $\frac{3}{4}$ " × 7 $\frac{1}{4}$ ". Ff. 228. 22 lines. Dated A.H. 1307 (A.D.  
 1889/1890).

*Tuhfat an-Nafīs*, by Raja 'Alī Haji of Riau. Ed. R. O. Winstedt,  
*JRASMB.*, X, pt. II.

Maxwell 3. 13" × 9". Ff. 83. 25 lines. 19th cent.

*Hikayat Shamsu'l-barri*. See W. E. Maxwell in *JRASSB.*, 9, 1882, pp. 87-88.

Maxwell 4. 13½" × 8¼". Ff. 42. 25 lines. Dated A.D. 1886.

*Hikayat Raja Budiman*. A tale by Dollah. (*JRASSB.*, 17, p. 115). Ed. and transl. H. Clifford, Singapore 1896.

Maxwell 5. 13" × 8". Ff. 21. 22 lines. 19th cent.

*Undang-undang Mēlaka*, ending abruptly at 58th chapter. Cp. *JRASMB.*, XXIX pt. 3, p. 23.

Maxwell 6. 13" × 8". Ff. 28. 22 lines. Dated A.D. 1887.

*Undang-undang Mēlaka* and other laws. Cp. *JRASMB.*, XXIX pt 3, p. 23.

Maxwell 7. 13½" × 8½". 24 lines. Dated 1303 (A.D. 1885/6).

Three tales by Mir Hassan, viz.:

- (1) Ff. 27 *Sēri Rama*. Ed. and transl. W. E. Maxwell, *JRASSB.*, 17, 1886, and 55, 1910.
- (2) Ff. 29 *Raja Donan*. Ed. and transl. W. E. Maxwell, *JRASSB.*, 18, 1886.
- (3) Ff. 20 *Raja Ambong*. Ed. and transl. W. E. Maxwell, *JRASSB.*, 19, 1887.

Maxwell 8. 13½" × 8¼". Ff. 27. 21 lines. Dated H.1242 (A.D. 1826/27).

*Asal Raja-raja Mēlayu* or *Kitab Keturunan Raja-raja Mēlayu*, etc.

Maxwell 9. 13" × 8". Ff. 11. 24 lines. After 1855.

Chronological extracts from no. 8.

Maxwell 10. 13" × 8". Ff. 30. 34 lines. 19th cent.

*Risalat hukum Kanun*.

Maxwell 11. 13" × 8". Ff. 25. 26 lines. Dated 1890.

*Undang-undang Minangkabau*.

Maxwell 11a. 13" × 8". Ff. 19. 22 lines. Dated 8.4.91.

*Undang-undang Mēlaka* (of Sultan Mahmud Shah). Wants beginning. Some subjects treated are: slavery; damage caused by cattle; lost property. Cp. *JRASMB.*, XXIX pt. 3, p. 23.

Maxwell 12. 13½" × 8". Ff. 15. 27 to 30 lines. N.d.

*Kitab Ta'bir mimpi*.

Maxwell 13. 13½" × 9¼". Ff. 102. 20 lines. Dated 1880.

*Tāj as-salāṭīn*.

Maxwell 15. 13" × 8". Ff. 30. 22 lines. Modern copy from an old MS. with illustrations.

A treatise on magic, divination, etc.

The copyist has added an index of 53 bābs, e.g.:

- (1) Fasl pada mēnyatakan *Fa'l Kur'ān*.
- (7) Fasl *pēta sēmbilan* nama-nya ada bērgambar. (Figures of animals.)
- (9) *Pēri bangsa pērēmpuan*.
- (10-13) *Ra'si*.
- (42) *Rējang*, with figures of animals.
- (52) *Asal kējadian pawang*.
- (53) *Ukuran kēris*.

Maxwell 16. 12 $\frac{3}{4}$ " × 9". Ff. 100. 21 lines. Dated 1879.

*Silsilat as-salāṭīn*, genealogical history of the Kings of Kēdah.

Maxwell 17. 13" × 8". Ff. 17. 26 lines.

- (1) Extract from *Tāj as-salāṭīn*.
- (2) Digest of Pahang Laws done for Sultan 'Abd al-Ghaffār (1592-1614). Copied in 1879 from an original of H. 1234 (A.D. 1818/19). 91 bābs and chiri. Ed. by R. O. Winstedt, *JRASMB.*, 21 (1948), Pt. I, p. 1 *et sqq.* (MS. A.).

Maxwell 18. 13" × 9". Ff. 80. 25 lines. Dated 1878.

*Hikayat Bayan Budiman*. 22 tales.

Maxwell 19. 12 $\frac{3}{4}$ " × 8". Ff. 43. 32 lines. N.d.

*Undang-undang Mēlaka* (from a copy dated A.H. 1083 [A.D. 1672]), *Undang-undang laut*, etc. Imperfect. The name of Sultan Mahmud Shah is mentioned. Cp. *JRASMB.*, XXIX pt. 3, p. 23.

Maxwell 20. 12 $\frac{3}{4}$ " × 8". Ff. 20. 22 lines. Copied in 1884 A.D. from a MS. of the Dato' Sri Adika Raja dated 1248 A.H.

- (1) A Book of Laws. 64 chapters. MS. B of Winstedt's edition (see no. 17).
- (2) *Chēritēra Raja Nushirwan 'Adil*.

Maxwell 21. 12 $\frac{1}{2}$ " × 8". Ff. 75. 19 lines. 19th cent.

*Hikayat Marong Mahawangsa*. See *HML*<sup>2</sup>, 133 and 257.

Maxwell 22, 23. 12 $\frac{1}{2}$ " × 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ ". 2 vols. Ff. 150 and 142. 23 lines.

Dated A.H. 1294 (vol. 2).

*Sūrat al-anbiyā'*.

Maxwell 24.  $12\frac{1}{2}" \times 8"$ . Ff. 49. 23 lines. Neat copy made for Maxwell, dated 1882.

- (1) A treatise on fowls.
- (2) On casting bullets, shooting, etc.
- (3) A genealogical history of the Kings of Perak.
- (4) Another text of the *Hikayat Nēgēri Johor*, published by Winstedt in *JRASMB.*, 1932, vol. X, pt. I, pp. 164 *et seq.*

Maxwell 25.  $12\frac{1}{2}" \times 8\frac{1}{4}"$ . Ff. 61. 25 lines. N.d. Italian paper.  
A History of Perak.

Maxwell 26.  $12\frac{1}{2}" \times 8"$ . Ff. 118. 21 lines. Dated 1266 (A.D. 1850).  
*Sējaraḥ Mēlayu*. Used by Shellabear for his edition. Contains all Shellabear's chapters except 20.

Maxwell 28.  $11\frac{1}{2}" \times 8\frac{1}{2}"$ . Ff. 186. 23 lines. Dated 1882.  
A redaction of the *Hikayat Shah Kubad*.

Maxwell 29.  $12" \times 8"$ . Ff. 154. 23 lines. N.d.  
Comparative vocabularies of Malay and various dialects: Sakai, Sēmang, Jakun, Mēntra, etc.

Maxwell 30.  $11" \times 7\frac{1}{2}"$ . Ff. 13. 20 lines. Dated Malaka 1290 (A.D. 1873).

Episodes from the beginning of the *Tambo Rajo* (Undang-undang Minangkabau).

Maxwell 43.  $9" \times 6\frac{1}{2}"$ . (1) without any date; (2) has a note that it was sold in 1867.

- (1) Ff. 72; 131 pp. of text, 17 lines. *Shair Mēkah Madinah* or *Shair (rukun) Haji*, by Shaikh Daud of Sunur (Minangkabau).
- (2) Ff. 34; 19 lines. Many marginal notes. *Kifāyat al-muḥtāj fi'l-isrā' wa'l-mi'rāj*, translated in Mekka, A.H. 1224 (A.D. 1809) by Daud bin Abdullah of Patani, from the Arabic *Ḳiṣṣat Mi'rāj an-Nabī* by al-Ghaitī and part of the commentary by al-Ḳalyūbī. Text and marginal notes are the same as in the lithographed edition, Bombay H. 1298.

Maxwell 44.  $8\frac{1}{2}" \times 5\frac{1}{2}"$ . c. 1875.

- (1) Ff. 69. 13 to 16 lines. *Undang-undang* kēturunan daripada Minangkabau, turun kēnēgēri Perak, dibawa oleh Raja bērnama Sultan Ahmad Tajuddin Shah yang mula-mula mēnjadi raja didalam nēgēri Perak.
- (2) Ff. 12. A genealogical account and lists of the Kings of Perak. At the end the groundplan of an *astana*.



- (3) Ff. 12. Another paper on the same subject.
- (4) Ff. 8. Short genealogical account of the Sultans of Istambul or Rum.
- (5) Ff. 4. List of Perak place names.

Maxwell 46.  $8\frac{3}{4}" \times 6\frac{1}{4}"$ . Ff. 130. 13 to 16 lines. Dated 1879.  
*Hikayat Bayan Budiman*.

Maxwell 47.  $9" \times 6\frac{1}{2}"$ . Ff. 77. 17 lines. Dated 1882.  
A Book of Laws, containing: Law of Property, *Undang-undang laut*, *Undang-undang Minangkabau*, Constitutional Law, *Risalat Hukum Kanun*, Criminal Law, etc. Cp. *JRASMB.*, XXIX, pt. 3, p. 23.

Maxwell 48.  $9" \times 7\frac{1}{4}"$ . Ff. 4. 14 lines. Copied for Maxwell A.H. 1296 (A.D. 1879).

*Pantun Alif Ba Ta*.

Maxwell 49.  $9" \times 7"$ . 17 lines.

- (1) Ff. 9. Eulogies of the Prophet (*ṣalawāt*). Arabic with inter-linear Malay translation.
- (2) Ff. 8 (other side of the book). Arabic grammatical treatise.

Maxwell 50.  $9" \times 6\frac{1}{2}"$ . 21 lines. Ff. 77. N.d.  
*Īdāḥ al-albāb li-murid an-nikāḥ bi's-ṣawāb*, translated from Arabic in Mekka, H. 1224, by Daud bin Abdullah of Patani.

Maxwell 53.  $8\frac{3}{4}" \times 6\frac{1}{2}"$ . Ff. 21. 11 lines.  
Copied at Larut (Perak) 1879 from a Borneo MS. belonging to Hugh Low, Esq., Resident of Perak.

*Fa'l Qur'ān*. At the top of each page a passage from the Qur'ān in red ink, followed by the divination in black ink.

Maxwell 54.  $8\frac{3}{4}" \times 6\frac{1}{2}"$ . Ff. 12. 15 lines. N.d.  
*Kitāb al-ḥarf aksara bilang alif*, mystic treatise on the aksara, origin of all revelation (pp. 1-7).

Schematic note on Allah-Muhammad-Adam (pp. 8-9).

Questions and answers about the origin of *sembahyang*, etc. (pp. 10-12).

Schematic note (pp. 13-14).

*ʿAḳā'id al-īmān*, on 64 creeds immanent in *Lā ilāha illā 'llāh*, etc. (pp. 15-17).

and other notes (pp. 18-24). A kind of Malay *Primbon*.

Maxwell 55.  $8\frac{1}{4}" \times 6\frac{1}{2}"$ . Ff. 84. 15 lines. N.d.

*Tāj as-salāṭīn*.

Maxwell 56.  $8\frac{1}{4}" \times 6\frac{1}{2}"$ . Ff. 169. 16 lines. N.d.

*Hikayat Tubba' Dhul Yazan*. Abstract by Winstedt: *Rampai2 V*.

Maxwell 57.  $8\frac{1}{4}" \times 6\frac{1}{2}"$ . Ff. 9. 17 lines. N.d.

Explanation of Arabic words.

Maxwell 58.  $8" \times 6\frac{1}{4}"$ . Ff. 97. 16 and 17 lines. First part dated 1847.

A Collection of Poems, e.g.: *Shair Silambari* (this is the last piece of the volume), *Shair Lalat*, Pantuns taken from Hikayats, a *shair* on a horse race, etc.

Maxwell 59.  $8\frac{3}{4}" \times 6\frac{1}{2}"$ . Ff. 57. 15 lines. Copied 1870, same handwriting as nr. 81.

*Hikayat Sérangga Bayu* or *Hikayat Ahmad Muhammad*.

Maxwell 60.  $8" \times 6\frac{1}{2}"$ . Ff. 60. 15 lines. N.d. Blue paper. Owner's mark: Ēnchi' Muhammad b. Haji 'Abdulfattah orang Mēlaka.

*Hikayat Raja-raja bērputēra* or 'Adat sēgala Raja-raja Mēlayu. Last page explains words, e.g.: Bēndahari — artinya orang yang mēmēgang anak kunchi harta raja-raja.

Maxwell 61.  $8\frac{1}{2}" \times 6\frac{3}{4}"$ . Ff. 22. 17 and 18 lines. Dated A.H. 1275.

*Kitāb al-farā'id*.

Maxwell 63.  $8\frac{1}{4}" \times 6\frac{1}{2}"$ . Ff. 38. 15 lines. Dated 1870.

*Shair ma'rifat*. A paraenetic and (mainly) eschatological poem, not finished. Cf. Voorhoeve, *TBG*. 85, p. 115 *et sq.*

Maxwell 76.  $8" \times 6\frac{1}{2}"$ . Ff. 88. 15 lines. N.d.

*Hikayat Shah Mardan*.

Maxwell 77, 78.  $7\frac{3}{4}" \times 6\frac{1}{2}"$ . 2 vols. Ff. 199 and 173. 17 lines. Dated 1310/1892.

*Hikayat Hang Tuah*.

Maxwell 80.  $8" \times 6\frac{1}{4}"$ . Ff. 32. 13 lines. Dated A.H. 1263 (A.D. 1847).

*Taḥṣīl nail al-marām li-bayān manzūmat 'Aḵīdat al-ṣawāmm*, i.e. a Malay translation of Aḥmad al-Marzūḳī's commentary on his own rhymed creed (known in the Archipelago as *Kitab Abda'u* after its first word). A Malay version of this commentary by Daud bin Abdullah of Patani has been lithographed (2d ed. Constantinople 1306); possibly the same is contained in this MS.

Maxwell 81.  $8" \times 6\frac{1}{4}"$ . Ff. 27. 15 lines. N.d.

*Hikayat Maharaja 'Ali*.

Maxwell 82.  $8'' \times 6\frac{1}{2}''$ . Ff. 72. 15 lines. N.d.

*Shair Silindung Dēlima*.

Maxwell 87.  $7\frac{3}{4}'' \times 6''$ . Ff. 127. 17 lines. N.d.

*Idāh al-albāb li-murid an-nikāh (bi's-sawāb)*, see nr. 50.

Maxwell 93.  $7\frac{1}{2}'' \times 6\frac{1}{4}''$ . Ff. 77. 17 lines. (2) dated A.H. 1186 (A.D. 1772/73).

P.1 some family notes of an owner: 1184 Sulaiman was born, 1189 Khadijah, 1193 Sharifah Aminah. And a prescription for making narwastu.

(1) *Bidāyat al-mubtadi bi-faḍl Allāh al-muhdī*, anon. Malay text.

(2) pp. 119-145. *Hujjat aṣ-ṣiddīk li-daf' az-zindīk* by Nūr ad-Dīn ar-Rānirī (same handwriting as [1]). Ed. P. Voorhoeve, Leiden 1955. Last page (by another hand) the beginning of a *Bāb al-istinjā'*.

Maxwell 95. Six lithographs and two manuscripts bound together.

(5) sm. 4to. Pp. 51. Dated 1274. Blue paper. Owner's mark: Kēmas Muhammad Hasan.

*Chērita Laila Majnun*.

(6) sm. 4to. Pp. 9. Same paper.

A *shair*, love-poem.

Maxwell 96.  $7\frac{3}{4}'' \times 5\frac{3}{4}''$ . Ff. 58. 14 to 17 lines. N.d.

A kind of *Undang-undang Minangkabau*, laws given in the year A.H. 1180 by Duli Yangdipertuan Gunung Hijau(?) Raja Pagar-ruyung (?). At the end: *do'a*, aphrodisiacs, etc.

Maxwell 97.  $7\frac{1}{2}'' \times 6\frac{1}{2}''$ . Ff. 34. 15 lines. N.d.

*Hikayat Nabi Mi'raj*.

Maxwell 103.  $6\frac{1}{2}'' \times 4''$ . Ff. 16. 15 to 18 lines. Written at Blanja, Perak A.H. 1299.

*Salasilah Raja-raja yang didalam nēgēri Perak*.

Maxwell 104.  $6\frac{3}{4}'' \times 4\frac{1}{4}''$ . Ff. 32. 15 lines. N.d.

Religious treatises, including *Nūr ad-daḳā'ik* by Shamsuddin as-Samaṭrā'i, which has been edited by A. H. Johns, *JRAS.*, 1953, pp. 137 *et seqq.*

Maxwell 105.  $7\frac{1}{2}'' \times 4\frac{3}{4}''$ . Ff. 36. 15 lines. N.d.

Fragment of a historical work, on the lines of *Sējarah Mēlayu*.

106 *Kitab pērentah Pawang* contains a cosmogony (*Bingkisan Budi*, pp. 322-7, Leiden 1950) and *mantra* used in the ritual of the rice-field etc. 19th-century MS. Written at Blanja, Perak, pp. 1-144. Size  $9\frac{1}{4}'' \times 6''$ .

- 107 *Mantra Gajah* (spells and charms for elephants). Copied at Bukit Gantang Larut by Uda Mhd. Hashim. 58 pp. Size  $9\frac{1}{4}" \times 6\frac{1}{4}"$ . Tr. by (Sir) G. Maxwell. *JRASSB.*, Vol. XIV, pp. 1-53 (1906). Another MS. is printed in *JRASSB.*, Vol. XLIX, pp. 71-86 (1907).
- 109 *Hikayat Ghulam* (or *Ht. Raja Azbakh* or *Ht. Zadah Bokhtin*) tr. from Arabic by 'Abdu'l-Wahab of Siantan. A romanized text by R. O. Winstedt from a MS. in the Kuala Lumpur Museum and an edition lithographed (? at Singapore). Pages 1-50. Size  $13" \times 8"$ .
- 111 *Ht. Jaya Lēngkara*. Romanized copy, pp. 78 of Logan MS. 302, Raffles Library, Singapore. Size  $12\frac{1}{2}" \times 8"$ .
- 112 *A History of Kēlantān*, compiled A.H. 1322 (=A.D. 1904). A romanized MS., pp. 1-101. Size  $13\frac{1}{2}" \times 8"$ .
- 114 *Mesa Kiamang*. Vol. II of a Perak MS. copy A.D. 1906 of a Kedah MS. of a Javanese romance. Pp. 287-585.
- 115 *Zikir* by Haji 'Abd al-Rahman bin Haji Ibrahim, a (?) Patani living at Changkat Jering, Perak. Pp. 1-65. Before 1880 A.D. Size  $9\frac{1}{8}" \times 6\frac{1}{2}"$ .
- 116 *Tahṣīl nāl al-marām li-bayān manẓūmat 'Aḳīdat al-'awāmm*. By Abu'l-Fauz Aḥmad al-Marzūḳī ibn Muḥammad Ramaḍān al-Ḥasanī wa'l-Ḥusainī. Pp. 39. Size  $9" \times 6\frac{3}{4}"$ . Arabic text. Malay translation: Maxwell 80.
- 117 *Tāj as-salāṭīn*. A romanized copy of a MS. in Raffles Library, Singapore (incomplete). Pp. 1-114. Size  $13" \times 8\frac{1}{2}"$ .
- 118 *Sungai Ujong Customary Law*; (a) Romanized Malaccan text Size  $13" \times 8"$ . Pp. 86. Published by R. O. Winstedt and P. E. de Josselin de Jong, *JRASMB.*, Vol. 27, Pt. 3, 1954; (b) Jawi MS. of same in Minangkabau Malay. Pp. 58. Size  $13" \times 8"$ .
- 119 *Sējarah Raja-Raja Riau*. A typed Jawi copy, pp. 1-21. Size  $13" \times 8\frac{1}{4}"$ . English outline by R. O. Winstedt in *JRASMB.*, Vol. XI, Pt. 2, Dec., 1933.
- 120 Erotic pantheist fragment from Perak:— the preacher was gaoled ca. 1880 A.D. 10 foolscap pages, romanized.
- 121 Fragment (28 pp.) of Malay MS. on magic spells and lucky marks on *kēris*. Size  $8\frac{1}{2}" \times 6\frac{1}{2}"$ .

- 122 History of Acheh. Jawi MS. Pp. 25. Size  $6\frac{1}{2}" \times 4"$ . Belonging to the third group of chronicles mentioned by H. Djajadiningrat *BKI.*, 8, I, p. 137 and printed in *Adat Atjèh*, ed. G. W. J. Drewes and P. Voorhoeve, 1958.
- 123 History of Bërunai. By Haji 'Abd al-Ghafur bin 'Abd al-Mu'min. Sarawak, 1936. Jawi MS., pp. 1-52. Size  $8\frac{1}{4}" \times 6\frac{1}{4}"$ .
- 124 *Ht. Chekel Waneng Pati*, 2 vols. Romanized typescript, done from a Kelantan MS., ca. 1950. Pp. 1-330+331-643. Size  $13" \times 7\frac{3}{4}"$ . Cf. Raffles Malay MSS. 23 and 45. Given by Dr. A. Hill.
- 125 *Ht. Radin Pancha Wala*. Romanized typescript ca. 1950 from a Kelantan MS. A Malay translation from the Javanese version of Dalang Asmara Jaya done by the Dalang himself, said in his preface (p. 2) to be a story of the Pandawa Lima. Dated A.H. 1331 bulan 9 (= A.D. 1913). Pp. 382. Size  $13" \times 7\frac{3}{4}"$ . Given by Dr. A. Hill.
- 126 *Ht. Bangbang Jënawi*. Romanized typescript ca. 1950. A tale of the Pandawa Lima from Kelantan, full of Javanese words. Pp. 1-75. Size  $13" \times 7\frac{3}{4}"$ . Given by Dr. A. Hill. It begins with a short mention of the genealogy of the Pandawas and the Korawas. Bangbang Jënawi marries Subadra, sister of Bangbang Irana. Bangbang Irana asks Arjuna's help to obtain Srikandi in marriage, but her father gives her to Arjuna. The son of Arjuna and a female raksasa, called Nata Kuja, attacks the kayangan. Only Arjuna can kill him. Drona incites the Korawas to fight the Pandawas. One of the Korawas kills a naga with an arrow. The country of the Korawas is harassed by illness, which ceases only when Arjuna pulls the arrow from the naga's mouth. Inside the naga's belly Arjuna marries a bidadari. — The text is full of errors of transcription: the Javanese word *yayi* "younger brother", used as a pronoun, is always transliterated: *iaitu*, etc.
- 127 *Rëjang këtika dari Këlantân*. Romanized typescript ca. 1950. Contains remedies for illness (pp. 1-147), a genealogy of *dalang* Nik Abdurrahman in Kelantan, dated 1928, and spells, some in Javanese. (pp. 148-165). Size  $13" \times 7\frac{3}{4}"$ . Given by Dr. A. Hill. The text is divided into 539 + 26 paragraphs. The paragraphs 210-212 are a very corrupt text of a passage from a treatise by Abdurrauf, edited by Voorhoeve in *TBG.*, LXXXV pp. 94-97.



- 128 *Undang-Undang Laut*. A photostat of Malay MS. 6619 Breda Royal Military Academy. See 'The Maritime Laws of Malacca' in *JRASMB.*, XXIX pt. 3, p. 24. See Maxwell MSS. 5, 6, 11a, 19, 47 above.
- 129 '*Ilmu pēnyakit*'. Romanized typescript from a MS. compiled by Tengku Su, uncle of the (1954) Sultan of Trengganu. Mostly herbal remedies with a few charms. Pp. 1-73. Size  $13\frac{1}{2}" \times 8\frac{1}{2}"$ . Given by Dr. A. Hill.
- 130 *Usul majlis Ferdana 'Alam*. Vol. I. Romanized typescript of a romance of the descendants of a Sharif Zin who abdicates and becomes a hermit (*bērkkhalwat*) on Gunong Mas Mērchu Kēmal(a) leaving the throne to his son Shah Pērseta 'Alam Mēngindēra, who has a younger brother Shah Kobat 'Alam Mu'tabar. Original owned by Tengku Puan Meriam, Sultanah of Trengganu (1954). Pages 1-344. Size  $13" \times 8"$ . Given by Dr. A. Hill.
- 131 *Kitab ubat-ubat Mēlayu*. A Romanized typescript (July, 1954) from an original owned by Engku Pengiran Anum of Kuala Trengganu and compiled by his father. Pp. 1-184. Size  $13" \times 8"$ . Given by Dr. A. Hill.
- 132 *Sha'er Shamsu'l 'Alam*. A romanized typescript from Kedah. Pp. 155. Size  $13" \times 8"$ . Given by Dr. A. Hill.
- 133 *Ht. Panji Edan Asmara Dewa*. A romanized typescript from an original owned by Che Azmi, Alor Star Kedah. Pp. 1-154. Size  $13" \times 8"$ . Given by Dr. A. Hill.
- 134 *Ht. Jarang (= Charang) Kulina*. A romanized (1954) typescript from a Kedah original translated from the Javanese by a Dalang Aria Nenggara. Pp. 1-285. Size  $13" \times 8\frac{1}{2}"$ . Given by Dr. A. Hill. Cf. Raffles Malay MS. 14.
- 135 *Ht. Bunga Rampai Ēmas*. A romanized typescript from a MS. owned by Tengku Asmara 'diraja uncle of the Sultan (1954) of Kelantan. Vol. I. Pp. 1-95. Size  $13\frac{1}{2}" \times 8\frac{1}{2}"$ . The preface gives its real title as "Mesa Gēmitar Kēsakmalara Sēri Panji Agong Asmara". The compiler is given as "Reka Bērma Kawi". Original MS., pp. 1-358. Copied at Kota Baharu, Kelantan and given by Dr. A. Hill.
- 136 *Ht. Iskander Dhu'l-Karnain*, 4 vols. Described with outline by R. O. Winstedt in *JRASMB.*, Vol. XVI, pt. 2 (1938), pp. 6-22. Presented by Sir Richard Winstedt, 1956. Abst. *Rampai* 2 V by Winstedt.

## NOTE

The following lithographed and printed editions are catalogued under the Maxwell MSS.:— M. 14, H. Ganja Mara; M. 27, H. Bustamam; M. 31, H. 'Abdullah; M. 32, Sri Rama; M. 33, Shair Ken Tambuhan; M. 34, Chrestomathie Malaye, E. Dulaurier; M. 35, Raja Ambong; M. 36, H. 'Abdullah; M. 37, Tāj as-salātīn; M. 38, H. Jahidin; M. 39, Chroniques Malayes, E. Dulaurier; M. 40, Biblia Malaice; M. 41, Kamus al-Mahmudiah; M. 42 = M. 34 and M. 39; M. 45, Rules of Land Assessment, 1888; M. 51, Raja Donan; M. 52, H. Alf Lailah wa Lillah; M. 62, An account of The Isrā' and Mi'raj; M. 64, Sh. Songking (?); M. 65, Sh. Aceh; M. 66, Sh. Bunga Ayer Mawar; M. 67, H. Abu Sambah; M. 68, Sh. Iblis Shaitān; M. 69, Sh. Unggas bērsual-jawab; M. 70, H. Panchatandēran; M. 71, K. Pēmimpin Joho; M. 72, Sh. Pēngantīn Juragan Awi (?); M. 73, Sh. Bunga Ayer Mawar; M. 74, Sh. Ikan Tērubok dan puyu-puyu; M. 75, Tanbīh al-ikhwān; M. 79, H. Mhd. Hanafiah; M. 83, Sabil al-muhtadīn; M. 84 and 86, Sh. 'Abdu'l-Muluk; M. 85, Injil Lukas; M. 88, Sh. Punggok; M. 89, Pēraturan mēnyurat kapada raja-raja; M. 90, H. Raja Budak; M. 91, Sh. Ken Tambuhan; M. 92, H. Darmah Tasiah and H. Abu Nawas; M. 94, Sh. Jauhar Manikam; M. 95, H. si-Miskin, H. Darmah Tasiah, H. Abu Nawas, H. Raja Sulaiman; Sh. Silambari; Sh. Iblis; M. 98, Niemann's Bloemlezing; M. 99, Johor Land Revenue Regulations; M. 100, Pēnggēli Hati; M. 101, The Acts of the Apostles; M. 102, The Psalms; M. 108 Alf laila wa-laila (Arabic, printed, removed to the Arabic section). M. 110, H. Koris Mēngindēra; M. 113, H. 1001 malam.

## ABBREVIATIONS

<i>BKI</i>	= Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde.
Niemann	= G. K. Niemann's Bloemlezing uit Maleische Geschriften.
<i>HML</i> <sup>2</sup>	= A History of Classical Malay Literature by R. O. Winstedt <i>JRASMB.</i> , 31, pt. 3 (1958).
<i>JRASMB</i>	= Journal of the Malayan Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.
<i>JRASSB</i>	= Journal of the Straits Branch of the RAS.
<i>Rampai</i> <sup>2</sup>	= Kēsusastēraan Mēlayu; 6 vols. by R. O. Winstedt, Longmans, Green & Co. London.
<i>TBG</i>	= Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land en Volkenkunde.

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## REVIEWS OF BOOKS

### Asia

ASIA IN THE EUROPEAN AGE, 1498-1955. By Michael Edwardes. Pp. 351. Thames and Hudson, London. 1961. 35s.

This book deals with European penetration and colonialism in Asia from Vasco da Gama and especially with the impact of the European presence and European ideas and institutions on Asia today. About two-thirds of the book deals with the period before 1900 and the remainder with the 20th century. Its scope, therefore, is the same as K. M. Panikkar's *Asia and Western Dominance*, though it is a far better book. Incomprehensibly, however, Western Asia is entirely ignored. Little is said about Iran, while Turkey and the Caucasus (an early field for Russian Imperialism), Arabia and the Persian Gulf, Syria, Iraq, Lebanon, Jordan and Israel are ignored. Appropriately enough, in view of her great possessions in Asia, England dominates the story, though perhaps the best parts of this lively, provocative, well-organized and well-written book are those dealing with Dutch and French colonialism. The sections on the Far East tend to become repetitive and in his rather superficial account of 19th-century China the author almost falls over backwards in trying to justify the obscurantism and arrogance of late Manchu China. He is far better on the Kuomintang. There are, however, two serious flaws. First, Mr. Edwardes' work seems to suffer from a lack of detailed knowledge of the huge field he has chosen to survey. This is particularly true of India, to which he devotes so much space, for he clearly lacks intimacy with frontier policy in all its aspects, with the place of Land Revenue administration in the moulding of modern Indian society and with the varied intellectual milieu of the I.C.S. during the past hundred and fifty years. Secondly, in his attempt to understand and evaluate modern Asia he has failed to understand the *whole* nature of European expansion or — with all its obvious limitations — the nature of the European achievement. In emphasising the economic aspects of Imperialism he has been forced to distort its other aspects so that we read about "the sterility of Asia's European Age" (p. 239) and are assured that, with reference to missionary activity, "the West, then, was hypocritical, and the religion of its missionaries only a disguise for darker things" (p. 191)! Mr. Edwardes' prejudices and his shallow jibes at Imperialism become wearisome. The British are regularly designated arrogant and, on page 294, their conversion of their empire into a free Commonwealth is sneered at as self-deceit. It is just because Mr. Edwardes is so obviously an intelligent writer that these flaws are so irritating.

It is much to be hoped that before he embarks upon his next work Mr. Edwardes will attempt to divest himself of his anti-British shibboleths and study the historian's craft more carefully.

On page 174 it is stated that "Great Britain, France and Russia brought pressure to bear on Japan . . . to give up the Liaotang peninsula". Britain did no such thing; the trio were France, Russia and Germany. On page 186 it is stated that by the Treaty of Turcomanchai Russia gained the whole Caucasus "excepting a small corner in the south-east bordering on the Black Sea". The geography of this statement is peculiar, to say the least. G. R. G. HAMBLBY.

## Central Asia

CATALOGUE OF THE TIBETAN MANUSCRIPTS FROM TUN-HUANG IN THE INDIA OFFICE LIBRARY. By the late Louis de la Vallée Poussin. With an appendix on the Chinese Manuscripts by Kazuo Enoki. pp. xviii, 299, pl. 2. Published for the Commonwealth Relations Office by Oxford University Press: London, 1962. Price in U.K. £5 5s.

The three expeditions of Sir Aurel Stein to Central Asia opened new fields of research centring around the mass of documents cached in Tun-huang, the most sensational of which were soon published. The scholarship and labour required and expense have meant a delay of more than half a century for full-scale catalogues. The work was begun during the First World War by the Belgian scholar De la Vallée Poussin (1869-1938 according to the introduction, though his *Festschrift* gave 1939 as the date of his death). It is printed without major revision, but successive Librarians and their staff have spent many years in checking, copying texts, and proof-reading to produce this fine volume, the final stages being supervised by Miss A. F. Thompson. Professor K. Enoki's appendix is a model of accuracy in identifying canonical texts, and the added references to Tohoku (1934), are extremely valuable.

In 1939 Mlle. M. Lalou, in her *Inventaire des manuscrits tibétains de Touen-houang conservés à la Bibliothèque Nationale* (vol. I), p. vi, said of her handlist:—"La description matérielle est suffisante pour retrouver les morceaux qui manquent et dont une grande partie doit se trouver dans la collection Stein, à Londres." As her "Inventaire" is not mentioned in the Abbreviations, p. [x], there is apparently much work to be done. Secular documents are few, which makes them all the more precious in helping to define the rôle of Tibetan in the culture of the peoples of Central Asia. Non-Tibetan languages (C133 and others), as well as a modern document on Russian paper (No. 765) are included. This catalogue should stimulate studies foreshadowed by the author in Tibetan palaeography, which could possibly be linked to a study of paper to provide a dating sequence.

E. D. GRINSTEAD.

LA CIVILISATION TIBÉTAINE. By R. A. Stein. Dunod, Paris, 1962. pp. xiv+269. Ill. 3 maps. Fr. 32.

Professor Stein, whose great study of the Gesar Saga is intensely detailed and comprehensive, has here, in a mere 250 pages, produced the best short survey of Tibetan civilisation yet written. The late Sir Charles Bell's books will stand as the careful but rather formless records of an observant eyewitness. Professor Stein has never entered Tibet but, working from a wide range of Tibetan and Chinese, as well as western, sources, he has analysed the essentials of the Tibetan scene — its life, character, religion, arts — with judicious precision in selecting significant aspects and with brilliant insight in relating its parts to the rounded whole which it is his object to present. The long section on religion is particularly impressive for the ease and lucidity with which the basic principles are extracted from the complexity and variety of Tibetan doctrine and practice. An acute vision is also brought to bear on the social and religious structure, of which the underlying formula is found to be "la coexistence de deux principes à la fois solidaires et antagoniques: l'indivision égalitaire et la hiérarchie". (p. 70.) The account of art and literature concentrates on the specifically Tibetan, largely poetic, element. It includes skilful translations of parts of the obscure songs from the Tenth-Century documents from Tun Huang and, in doing so, points the need for a revision of existing translations of that important material.

The book is enlivened — in addition to a number of well-chosen photographs — by the charming and apt drawings of the Tibetan painter Lobzang Tendzin which reflect Professor Stein's perceptive summary of the Tibetan character with its "sorte de condensation ou de concentration, un caractère entier . . ." (p. 251).

Inevitably where the range is so wide, specialists in various fields will find something to question or which seems to need greater particularization; but so far as the ways, thoughts, and activities of the Tibetan world are concerned we are left with a coherent and intelligible picture.

In his picture of history Professor Stein is not so felicitous or convincing — at least in the early and later periods. In the former, he accepts without question later traditions which are contrary to the earliest Tibetan and Chinese evidence — e.g., that Mes Agtsom was an old man when he married his Chinese bride and that Khri-srong Lde-brtsan was the son of that princess; he also skates over the chronological problem at the end of the Tibetan Kingdom. With regard to contemporary affairs, his brief comment on the treatment of Tibet by the Chinese Communists after 1950 — "Certes la religion est respectée" (p. 66) disingenuously ignores the abundant evidence of violent persecution in the eastern border regions from 1956 onwards. Had he not closed his eyes to this, Professor Stein would have had less difficulty in perceiving at least one important cause of the rising at Lhasa in March, 1959 which he describes as taking place in "circonstances mal établies". Although he sees

Tibetan civilisation as facing "une crise terrible", we have only the vaguest indications of its nature and there is no mention of Tibetan charges that, all over the country, monks have been evicted from monasteries, books and images destroyed and religious persons cruelly oppressed after the 1959 rising. This apparent partiality or excessive delicacy is echoed in the map at pp. 14 and 15 which accepts Chinese claims at the N.W. end of the Tibetan frontier with India and avoids even indicating the Indian position along the McMahon Line.

Shortcomings of a different sort are the absence of an index — there is only a list of names without any page references — and the troublesome system for tracing the sources referred to in the notes. It is hoped that attention may be given to these matters in the future editions, which this work deserves, for it will be a valuable introduction to Tibetan studies with an appeal also to all with a serious interest in the Tibetans and their civilisation. H. E. RICHARDSON.

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### Far East

IMAGERIE POPULAIRE VIETNAMIENNE. By Maurice Durand. pp. xcvi + 491. Copiously illustrated. Publications de l'École Française d'Extrême Orient. Paris, 1960.

"If the Vietnamese are little advanced, it is not for want of intelligence or address. They want only models. Do not expect invention from them, but be assured that their talent for imitation will never be in fault." The words were spoken by a Frenchman, Chaigneau, early in the 19th century. Since he had served the emperor Gia-Long during most of his adult life and been appointed a senior mandarin at the court of Hue, his opinion cannot be lightly dismissed. Indeed, as far as Vietnamese art is concerned, later commentators have confirmed his view when they describe it as an imitation of Chinese or French art and lacking in any originality. This is why art historians have neglected to devote serious study to Vietnamese art, for which they have little admiration or respect.

Maurice Durand, who has shed much light on hitherto unexplored or under-explored features of Vietnamese civilization, has approached the subject of Vietnamese art from an entirely new direction. It is his contention that the popular art of Vietnam, whatever its aesthetic merits or defects, has much to offer in the way of information about the beliefs, traditions, history, and general culture of the Vietnamese people. In this book he has attempted to show how a methodical and scientific study of the popular art can produce this information.

Classifying all Vietnamese popular art into eleven distinct categories, the author analyses it with a wealth of excellent photographs to illustrate his findings. In addition, he has drawn upon his wide knowledge of Vietnamese literature, history, and customs,



translating all Vietnamese and Chinese quotations into French for the benefit of readers unfamiliar with those languages. The result is a book which will be found indispensable by all who study Vietnam or its people.

The examples treated by M. Durand are restricted to Chinese-inspired drawing or painting and, in the main, to traditional subjects. Some drawings have been included which reflect Vietnamese reactions to French influence, and there are some propaganda posters produced recently in the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. Artists who have studied their craft in France and whose work is now to be found in the shops and in the homes of South Vietnam have been ignored, though doubtless their work would be no less informative. There are almost certainly other artists in North Vietnam who studied in Russia or the Communist states of Eastern Europe. It would be a fascinating undertaking to make a comparative study of these two schools using M. Durand's methods, and it would tell us much about Vietnamese attitudes today. But perhaps it is still too early for this to be done.

The author is to be congratulated for devising a novel and fruitful approach to a field of Vietnamese activity which has, in the past, been neglected because the quality of this art was not sufficiently high to merit detailed study. M. Durand has shown in this book that there is much to be learned from it.

P. J. HONEY.

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THE NIEN ARMY AND THEIR GUERRILLA WARFARE, 1851-1868.  
By S. Y. Teng. pp. 254. 4 maps and 4 illustrations. Mouton & Co., La Haye, Paris, 1961.

Mr. Teng has been very unlucky. In 1953 he delayed publication of his book, to consult 6 volumes of newly published source material from China. By the time he had completed his revision, Dr. Chiang Siang-tseh's scholarly work 'The Nien Rebellion' had come out, and Mr. Teng's publisher refused to issue his work. So it was not until 1961, that it was finally published. The study is certainly sound, interesting and very well documented, if a bit repetitive. It contains a good deal of new information, particularly about Sung Ching-shih's Black Banner Rebellion, from documents and folk stories collected and recorded recently in China. Unfortunately, the author felt obliged to give his work a gimmick, to differentiate it from Dr. Chiang's study: it is, to stress the guerrilla aspect of the rebellion, at which no one can complain, but he goes on to state the similarities between the Nien guerrilla strategy and that of Mao Tse-tung, and to imply a direct descent from the one to the other. However, although Mao is always very conscious of Chinese revolutionary and military history, Mr. Teng has been unable to find any reference to the Nien in his writings. Perhaps this is because, though both the Nien and the Mao were guerrillas, the former fought in the plains with cavalry and failed, whereas the latter fought in the mountains with infantry and was determined to succeed.

Mr. Teng has shown great courage and industry in tackling a subject so large and complex as the life of Yüan Shih-kai. He quotes over 250 sources. A great difficulty for all writers on China is, for whom to write and he seems to fall between two stools over this. For instance, a layman is hardly likely to be interested in the lists of Korean Courtiers (p. 22), which burden an already intricate narrative. But a student might like to know what authority Mr. Chen has, for saying, that Yüan instigated the murder of Wu Lu-ch'en (p. 113), a point on which other historians disagree. There are a few inaccuracies. On page 100 the author says that in 1896 Sun Yat-sen toured Europe and recruited many students, when in fact Sun had no contact with students before his trip in 1905. Then on page 103, he says that, the Alliance party attempted seven assassinations, whereas the party opposed these individual attempts. However the book is generally accurate, and will be a great help to all who want to understand a crucial and confusing period of Chinese history.

MARTIN BERNAL.

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GENERATION OF GIANTS. The Story of the Jesuits in China in the last days of the Ming Dynasty. By G. H. Dunne, S.J. 389 pp. + illustrations, Burns Oates, 1962. 50s.

The story of the old Jesuit mission in China during the 17th and 18th centuries has often been told before, and it is hardly surprising that Fr. Dunne does not add anything substantial to this fascinating but well-worn theme. His book is a work of "haute vulgarisation", well-written and well-produced, which forms an agreeable introduction to the subject. Given the period with which he is concerned, the author naturally concentrates on the figures of Ricci and Schall, but his understandable enthusiasm for these "giants" sometimes leads him into being less than fair to their critics. For instance, in narrating the expulsion of two Spanish Franciscan friars from Peking in 1637, Fr. Dunne categorically rejects as a "fantasy without relation to historical reality" the friars' allegation that their removal was widely believed to be the work of Schall and his colleagues (pp. 250-52). In point of fact, the Jesuit missionaries at Peking were directly implicated, as the Vice-Provincial, Francisco Furtado, admitted in a letter dated 18th August, 1637, to the Visitor, Manuel Dias Senior, at Macao. Fr. Dunne is on safer ground when he points out the disastrous effect of the prohibition by the Holy See (after much hesitation) of the Chinese Rites in 1704. "By banning the Confucian ceremonies it made it impossible for a scholar-official to become a Christian or for a Christian to become a scholar-official . . . By banning the ancestral rites the Church was forced to assume a posture that seemed hostile to the Chinese environment. Instead of leaven Christianity became a foreign substance in the body of Chinese culture. It meant the effective ending of the policy of cultural adaptation" (p. 300).

C. R. BOXER.

BURIAT GRAMMAR. By Nicholas N. Poppe. (Indiana University Publications. Vol. 2 of the Uralic and Altaic Series). Pp. vii+129 reproduction type-script. Bloomington, Ind. \$3.

Prof. Poppe is the acknowledged *doyen* of Mongolian studies, and it would be presumptuous for one much less qualified to criticize this book in detail. Nevertheless the Professor's numerous admirers will sincerely regret that he has felt himself bound to bow to the prevailing customs of his adopted country and write what is here in "para. O.o.o." called a "descriptive grammar" of Buriat. Admittedly, in the days of Stalin a Soviet philologist who failed to make the appropriate genuflexion to the master's *Marksizm i voprosy yazykoznaniya* (Marxism and questions of philology) (Gospolitizdat, 1953, 45 kopeks, 500,000 copies) was likely to find himself in hot water (or a very cold climate), but it does seem monstrous in a free society that a scholar of Prof. Poppe's distinction should have to abandon the terminology of his life's work and, instead of writing about, for example, "case endings", have to write about "pure relational suffixes". (Incidentally this raises the fascinating question whether there are also impure relational suffixes.) Moreover, it is hard for those who learnt their Mongolian from such standard authorities as the Professor's *Grammar of Written Mongolian*, Wiesbaden, 1954, or K. Grønbech and J. R. Krueger's *Introduction to Classical (Written) Mongolian*, Wiesbaden, 1955, to have to learn a completely new set of names for familiar grammatical phenomena when reading this book. The position of the undergraduate taking a Degree in Mongolian and forced to memorize quite different terminologies for different stages of the language hardly bears thinking of. Subject to these remarks, this little book seems to cover the ground adequately and to be a useful addition to the short list of books about Mongolian not written in Russian or Mongolian. It does not compete in length with recent Soviet publications. For example pp. 5 to 26 on phonology cover the same ground as the 194 pages and 119 illustrations of I. D. Buraev's *Zvukovoy Sostav Buryatskogo Yazyka*, Ulan-ude, 1959 (a work which should be added to the bibliography on p. 3), but contain all that the western scholar needs to know on this subject, considering his limited opportunities of conversing with Buryats.

GERARD CLAUSON.

### Near and Middle East

OLD AKKADIAN WRITING AND GRAMMAR. Second Edition (Revised and Enlarged) by I. J. Gelb. 235 pp. The University of Chicago Press, 1962. 24s.

Old Akkadian is the designation now used for the written remains of the (Semitic) Akkadian language for the oldest period of Mesopotamian history down to the end of the Third Dynasty of Ur (c. 2000 B.C.).

From the limited material of the first (Pre-Sargonic) period, Gelb has undertaken the difficult task of reconstructing the ethnic situation over a wide area and shows that the Semites (Akkadians) appear alongside the Sumerians from the earliest times. To judge from the common use of the theophorous names they possibly had as their chief deity Il (the later 'El). From the Ur III period, with its many documents, Gelb argues convincingly that the many Akkadian loan-words in Sumerian indicate that the "Sumerian Renaissance" affected only the written language while the country in general continued towards a total Semitization.

When Gelb first published this detailed work in 1952 as 'Materials for the Assyrian Dictionary No. 2' the attention thus focused on historical Akkadian grammar elicited many new studies. The new edition will certainly further philological and grammatical enquiries in both Akkadian and Sumerian, for with his individualistic approach Gelb brings new arguments to support his earlier view that the distinction in voice in the spoken language, and consequently in the written, was unknown to the Sumerians. He still distinguishes  $\text{š}_1$  despite earlier criticism (E. A. Speiser in *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 73 (1953) pp. 136 ff).

This revised edition is an expansion of the original, by more than a third, made necessary by newly discovered textual sources (some included in the "Bibliography of Sargonic Royal Inscriptions" on pp. 193-207). In format the book follows the earlier pattern with a comprehensive list of 324 signs (pp. 46-116) marked according to their use in the Pre-Sargonic and Sargonic or the Ur III periods. It is a pity that sign list of the Sargonic period has been limited chronologically and geographically to the share of tablets granted to the University of Chicago from their Diyala finds. The grammar, especially the study of the verb, has been considerably strengthened with additional examples and references. This indispensable tool for the Semitic philologist has been given a broader and sharper blade.

D. J. WISEMAN.

#### CATALOGUE OF SYRIAC PRINTED BOOKS AND RELATED LITERATURE.

By C. Moss. pp. 587+103+136. British Museum, London. £14.

The Society is indebted to the Trustees of the British Museum for the gift of this handsome volume. In addition to books the catalogue records articles in many journals, thus forming a bibliography of the language and literature. The titles may be in Estrangelo, eastern Syriac, or in Hebrew characters. Books in or about Palestinian Syriac are included. India is brought in through the church of south India and China through the Nestorian monument of Sin-gan-fu. Among unexpected items may be mentioned a commentary on the Apocalypse translated from an Arabic version of a Latin original, a book by a Japanese scholar, and a translation into Turkish. The length of the addenda, 206 columns, is due to the time taken in printing and shows the interest taken in Syriac studies. The volume is a worthy monument to a great, modest scholar.



MARSH DWELLERS OF THE EUPHRATES DELTA. By S. M. Salim. (London School of Economics Monographs on Social Anthropology, no. 23), pp. x + 157. ill. 8. maps 3. London, Athlone Press 1962. 30s.

There are three groups of marsh dwellers, cultivators, mat makers and breeders of buffaloes. This book deals only with the mat makers who all belong to one tribe. If habits of thought prove race, these people are true Arabs, marked by pride of race with its respect for aristocracy, hospitality, contempt for certain occupations which no gentleman can follow, and the belief that a leader must be generous whether he can afford it or not. The marsh is thought to be due to the breakdown of government about 600 A.D. and the destruction of canals by the Mongols in the 13th century. When the Turks ruled Iraq, their authority stopped at the marsh and the local chiefs ruled the tribes despotically. Apart from a few armed incursions by the Turks nothing like law and order entered the marsh till the Turks were driven out of the country. Society is not classless. At the top are the holy men, the sayyids, who claim to be descended from the Prophet; many of them have a gift for making the best of this world as big money-lenders, although this activity is forbidden by their religion. In business they trade on their religious prestige. Next is the clan which ruled the tribe for 400 years; they have lost their privileges but are still treated with respect. The government has provided for some, others have entered government service, others are farmers and some have adopted the despised job of running motor launch services. In both these classes endogamy is the rule. The other clans of the tribe are commoners though some are more common than others. The sense of communal responsibility is strong, whether in minor family matters, in graver matters which involve the clan, or where the honour of the whole tribe is concerned. In a case of murder, the family of the murderer must give a woman to the family of the victim though she may be allowed to return to her own folk after she has born a son — a life for a life. At the bottom of the scale are the offspring of slaves whose women no tribesman will marry. Most people have some other occupation besides mat weaving; a little farming, a few cattle, temporary emigration for harvest labour or date picking and packing at Basra. Many families are always in debt. Much space in the book is given to the earnings of typical families.

The old order is changing; individuals accept the new economic policy of each man for himself and forget the tribal ideals. The author says that in recent years government morality has degenerated, bribes are taken and a police officer is the leader in gambling. The book is crammed with information but some criticism may be allowed. There is needless repetition; on p. 85 the beginning of a paragraph says that 70 families depend on cultivation alone but the end makes it nine families only. The author is mistaken in saying that chiefs in pre-Islamic Arabia maintained guest tents. In a book for the general reader it is an error to call the Imam



Lihsain, a dialect form of the name; a reader would not find it, say, in the *History of the Arabs* by Hitti and would not think of looking for Husayn. There is too much of interest in the book for a reviewer to call attention to everything; the author has done what he set out to do even if the result is "a plain unvarnished statement of unmitigated fact".

A. S. TRITTON.

AL-MAS'UDĪ: MILLENARY COMMEMORATION VOLUME. Ed. by S. Maqbul Ahmad and A. Rahman. The Indian Society for the History of Science and the Institute of Islamic Studies, Aligarh University, 1960. pp. x, 146. Rs. 20.00 (30s.)

This book consists of a collection of articles read or contributed at a celebration, held at Aligarh University in January, 1958, of the millenary of the death of al-Mas'udī. The articles are very unequal in value and there was surely no need to include the general addresses and messages sent on this occasion. One looks in vain for any real assessment of the value of al-Mas'udī's work as a compiler of *adab* literature. It is interesting to hear of a project to bring out a new edition of his *Murūj adh-Dhahab*.

J. S. TRIMINGHAM.

THE LAND OF THE GREAT SOPHY. By Roger Stevens. 291 pp. 16 plates. London, 1962, Methuen & Co. £2 2s.

As the years go by more and more people visit Persia; many of them knowing little of that country or of its long and eventful history. So there was a real need for a simple, straightforward, but fairly comprehensive book on a fascinating land. Sir Roger Stevens set out to write such a book, and he may claim to have succeeded admirably. Sir Roger Stevens was British Ambassador to Persia from 1954 to 1958. During that period, despite manifold official duties, he, besides doing much reading, travelled very extensively in the country, setting down his impressions with clarity and care.

Inevitably, a few mistakes have crept in here and there. For example, in Damghan the oldest mosque is known as the Tari-Khaneh ('God's House') and not the Tarik Khaneh ('Dark House'), but this is an error first perpetrated, strangely enough by the *Survey of Persian Art* (see Vol. II, pp. 932-34 and p. 966). Secondly, he gives (p. 6) the population of Tehran as 'over one million', whereas it is now over two million. In the chronological section at the beginning, some of the dates are erroneous. Shah 'Abbas I reigned from 1587 to 1629, and not from 1586 to 1628. The treaty of Turcomanchai was concluded in 1828 and not in the previous year. These are, all trivial points, beside the undoubted merits of this very useful book. Certainly it should be in the hands of all those visiting Persia for the first or even the second-time, though the price may put it beyond the reach of many of the quite numerous students who now make pilgrimages to that country.

L. LOCKHART.

THE ARAB MIDDLE EAST AND MUSLIM AFRICA. Ed. by Tibor Kerekes. Published by Thames and Hudson for the Institute of Ethnic Studies, Georgetown University, Washington, D.C., 1961. pp. 126. 15s.

This is a symposium of seven papers delivered in April 1960 at the Third Annual Roundtable Conference of the Institute of Ethnic Studies of Georgetown University. Professor Sir Hamilton Gibb, contributing the first on 'Islam in the Modern World', concentrates upon illuminating one aspect of the dilemma felt by the modern Muslim by stressing the primacy of the idea of the Symbol over the object in Muslim thought. He takes the rejection of the Symbol, in which all phenomena find their point of unity, as the equivalent of Secularism in the West. While this may have internal validity it may be questioned whether he takes sufficiently into account the influence of Western Secularism in restricting the sphere in which Islam can mould the lives of its adherents. The social revolution which is shaking Arabs out of their traditional mould is also affecting the primacy of the idea of the Symbol. This dilemma is well brought out by Hisham Sharabi in dealing with 'Political and Intellectual Attitudes of the Young Arab Generation'. Other papers deal with 'A Decade of Revolution, 1949-59' (G. F. Hourani), 'Islam and Nationalism in Africa' (W. H. Lewis), 'Prospects for a United Maghrib' (W. Sands), 'Economic Development in the Arab States' (A. J. Meyer), and 'Generations, Classes and Politics' (W. R. Polk). A few short addresses embracing vast areas and agonizing issues are bound to reveal inadequacies when they are collected in permanent form.

J. S. TRIMINGHAM.

AL-KITĀB AL-AQDAS OR THE MOST HOLY BOOK OF MĪRZĀ ḤUSAYN ʿALĪ BAHĀ'U'LLĀH. Ed. and tr. from the Arabic by E. E. Elder and W. Mc E. Miller (Oriental Translation Fund, N.S., XXXVIII). pp. 74. Royal Asiatic Society, London, 1961. 15/- bound, 10/6 sewn.

The transition from the authoritarian, exclusivist doctrines of the Bāb, which are clearly in the Persian Shīʿī Ghulāt tradition, to the universalist religion of humanity which is modern Bahā'ism has been chronologically short but doctrinally, a very long road. The important changes of emphasis within the Bābī-Bahā'ī movement have undoubtedly been favoured by the successive declarations of the Bāb and Bahā'ullāh (and according to his enemies, of the latter's son ʿAbbās Efendi ʿAbd al-Bahā', cf. Browne, *Materials for the study of the Bābī religion*, 76 ff.) of themselves as Supreme Manifestations of God, bearing fresh stages of revelation but bringing divisive elements into the movement; and by the absence of any definite canon of Scripture to give a firm doctrinal core. The absence of a Holy Book with the standing, say, of the Qur'ān, is surprising when one sees, from the *Aqdas* alone, how much Bahā'ullāh was still steeped in the Perso-Islamic tradition in these earlier and middle years of his career.

Dr. Miller notes, in a useful Introduction, that among the many writings of Bahā'ullāh, the *Aqdas* has a good claim to be considered as the Bahā'is' Scripture. It belongs to the early stage of Bahā'ism, probably to the first decade spent by Bahā'ullāh and his followers at Acre; Dr. Miller suggests 1875 for its composition. It seems to have originated from the requests of Bahā'is for guidance and advice on belief and conduct. Bahā'ullāh therefore wrote it as a statement of beliefs and rules for behaviour; from some of his apostrophes, it seems also that he was challenging, and hoping to bring back to the fold, the minority who still followed his half-brother Ṣubḥ-i Azal.

The range of topics in the *Aqdas* shows how eclectic Bahā'ism already was at this time. In certain places, it looks tentatively forward to the future pattern of Bahā'ism, e.g. in stipulating universal education, even for women, but the characteristic ethical emphases of later Bahā'ism, such as those on world peace and feminine equality, do not yet appear.

The Bābī-Bahā'ī movement is a singularly fascinating phenomenon, being one more seed from that most fertile womb of religions and philosophies, the Iranian world. No complete translation of the *Aqdas* has been made into a European language since Touman-sky's Russian one of 1899, and we must be grateful to Dr. Elder for making this important work available. The reviewer has no access to the Arabic original, but the translation runs smoothly, and the notes to the text are succinct and informative. C. E. BOSWORTH.

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PAPERS IN MALTESE LINGUISTICS. By J. Aquilina. pp. ix + 240. Royal University of Malta. 1961. 24s.

Of the nine distinct articles in this book on various aspects of Maltese linguistics, six have already appeared in various publications. The Maltese language is spoken by less than a quarter of a million people living on two islands with a combined area of 116 sq. m., i.e. considerably less than that of the Isle of Wight. So small a linguistic community is fortunate in having as the chief authority on its language a scholar of the calibre of Professor Aquilina. For many reasons Maltese is of great interest to students of Semitic in general and Arabic in particular. It seems self-evident to Arabists that Maltese, is a dialect of Arabic. Professor Aquilina's more sophisticated compatriots are by now (a little reluctantly?) convinced of that but it is only 50 years since a contributor to the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* could say: "The fallacy that Maltese is a dialect of Arabia has been luminously disproved..." and the old Punic myth still persists among the ignorant. This question is handled on pp. 167 *seq.*, though perhaps not with the forthrightness a non-Maltese might adopt, and without considering whether religious prejudice might not also have affected Maltese views.

There are many puzzling features about the history of Maltese. The Muslim Arabs arrived in 870 and found the Maltese to be Christians and speaking — what? Punic probably, as Professor Aquilina thinks. If so, this is the last appearance in history of Punic. Before this the last clear mention is by Procopius, who says of Tunisia in the 6th century: "The natives still speak Punic," but I have suggested elsewhere that the Afāriq who survived the Arab occupation of Tunisia for an indeterminate period were Punic speakers. If so, then we are only a century or so from the Arab conquest of Malta, and the Punic-speaking Maltese theory becomes quite plausible. But, it is not at all clear that Procopius knew the difference between Berber and Punic.

At all events, the Maltese embraced Arabic to such effect that there is now no certain trace in their language of any pre-Arabic feature. Could the Maltese have become so completely Arabized linguistically and yet maintain their Christianity? Seemingly they did. At any rate there is nothing specifically Islamic in Maltese unless it be *Randan* (i.e. *Ramaḍān*) 'Lent'. But if the Maltese have been Christians since before the Arabs arrived, and if there is no trace of pre-Islamic Semitic, then where do the existing Semiticisms in the religious vocabulary come from? Presumably from an Arabic-using Christian community, e.g. the Maronites. But what contacts did Malta have with such a community? Nothing is known of any but sporadic ones.

This particular problem is not dealt with in the present volume, but many others are, and with an authority a non-Maltese cannot challenge. An Arabist, however, will find many points of detail which call for comment. For example, the list of 60 words (pp. 37–41) which show differences of gender as between Maltese, other Arabic dialects, Hebrew, and Syriac. Really this seems only to demonstrate at much too great length that the list of nouns of anomalous gender is in general the same in all varieties of Arabic. As I understand it, the interest of such a list lies in the confrontation of words morphologically the same but differing in gender. But what is demonstrated by the fact that M. *kibx*, A. *kabsh* 'ram' is uniformly masc.? And nothing is proved by the fact that M. *ghadma* 'bone' is fem. while A. *ʿazm* is masc. They are morphologically distinct and follow different gender rules.

P. 2 Is M. *stalla* 'stop, stay' not to be compared with A. (*i*)*stanna* (cl. A. *ista'nā*) 'wait', common to most dialects including those of N. Africa, as well as with It. *stallarsi*?

Pp. 48–9 Professor Aquilina compares M. *dliel* 'hair', rightly enough as far as it goes, with A. *ẓilāl*, pl. of *ẓill* 'shadow', finds that this does not fit and so cites a Hebrew word even less appropriate because the root is of the wrong pattern. But if he had searched the Arabic dictionaries s.v. *dalāl* he would have found this attested in Andalusian with the very meaning which it has in Maltese. It would also seem more natural to assume for M. *bewwaq* 'make hollow' an A. *\*bawwaq* 'make like a *būq* (i.e. trumpet)' rather



than go back to a Hebrew word which has an unsuitable meaning besides being attested in Arabic anyway. Likewise M. *kennen* 'shelter' is exactly paralleled by A. *kannan*, while M. *gennen* is probably a doublet of the same or from A. *jannan* which would have a similar meaning. As for M. *xewlah* 'cast, hurl', the root *shlh* also exists in Arabic with this meaning, and the intrusive *w* may be compared with the *w* in *zhwl* and other secondary quadriliteral roots formed from trilaterals with the insertion (generally) of *l*, *m*, or *w*.

P. 125 A. *Wād(ī)* *Allāh* as the origin of the surname Vadalá or Badalá seems very improbable. Is 'Abd Allāh not more plausible?

P. 140 The examples cited for M. *hedded* 'threaten' obscure the fact that *haddad* is the ordinary Arabic for 'threaten'.

P. 216 M. *marsa* is to be equated with the Arabic noun of place *marsa(n)* 'anchorage', not the noun of instrument *mirsā(t)* 'anchor'.

P. 228 Though A. *Ṣaqāliba* seems likely as the origin of the M. toponym *Skorba* it should be observed that *Ṣaqāliba* is always written with *qāf*, so that the M. ought to be *Sqorba*. I infer from p. 144 that the dialectal interchange of Maltese *k* and *q* applies only in the direction *k* > *q* and not *vice versa*.

These observations are offered in no carping spirit.

J. F. P. HOPKINS.

A NEW ARABIC GRAMMAR OF THE WRITTEN LANGUAGE. By J. A. Haywood and H. M. Nahmad. Pp. viii+687. Percy Lund Humphries and Co. 1962. 45s.

The new grammar is half as large again as the old *Thatcher*, which it is to replace but follows much the same plan and is quite a new book, meant to serve both the classical and the modern written language. *Thatcher* served many generations of students and its successor should have, at least, as long a life. Some criticism may be allowed. In the table of the alphabet alif is transcribed as ā; this is definitely misleading. There are three verbal nouns; the infinitive and two participles so "verbal noun" should not be appropriated to the infinitive. It is a pity that the authors have not broken loose from the Arab idea of "declined notionally"; it is simpler and more sensible to say "indeclinable". There are a few misprints.

A. S. TRITTON.

AN ELEMENTARY CLASSICAL ARABIC READER. By M. C. Lyons. Pp. viii+236. C.U.P. 1962. 35s.

This volume contains 77 pages of Arabic text, 144 of glossary and 16 of notes. The reading matter is varied, interesting and not beyond the powers of a beginner; the glossary is adequate, and the notes brief and to the point. The price is high and much paper is wasted in the lay-out of the glossary.

A. S. TRITTON.



A HANDLIST OF THE ARABIC MANUSCRIPTS IN THE CHESTER BEATTY LIBRARY. Vol. 5. Ed. by A. J. Arberry. Dublin; Hodges Figgis and Co. Pp. 164. Pls. 21. 1962. £4 4s. 0d.

This volume follows the same plan as the previous ones and a reviewer can only repeat what has been said about the excellence of the printing and the plates. There is no index but a comprehensive index is promised for the last volume. The contents are varied though most items deal with law or religion. One reader may prefer the many medical texts, another the luxury editions from the libraries of sultans, another the autographs of famous scholars, especially the first volume of *biḥār al-anwār*, while the astronomer will find much to his taste. There are seven volumes of *tahdhīb al-kamāl* by al-Mizzi; four are called volumes I, 9, 10 and a volume while the other three contain parts 81-90, 201-210 and 211-220. These descriptions might have been reduced to a common denominator.

A. S. TRITTON.

"PICATRIX": DAS ZIEL DES WEISEN. Translated into German by H. Ritter and M. Plessner. pp. lxxviii+435. Warburg Institute, University of London. 1962. £5 10s. 0d.

A Latin book on magic and related subjects was long a puzzle and only during the present century were some of its sources identified till at last the Arabic original was discovered in the *Goal of the Sage*, a book ascribed, wrongly, to the Spanish mathematician Majrīfī. The Arabic text was published in 1933. After many vicissitudes the German translation is now available. The only reasonable adverse criticism is that the index is skimpy. The introduction gives all the usual information, including a history of the translation, and — in English — a summary of the contents. The book is a mixture, magic (talismans, charms, philtres), astrology, prayers offered by the people of Ḥarrān to the planets, legendary history like that of Wafid, the Amalekite king, in Egypt and elsewhere, with scraps of philosophy and psychology. The book was popular and more than one Hebrew version helps to establish the text. Fresh discoveries have made possible corrections to the Arabic text. With astrology, botany and mineralogy the translators needed to be almost omniscient and often they admit failure. The name "Picatrix" is a corruption of Buqratis which is Hippocrates; this is stated in a note though it is denied in the introduction, a very small slip. On p. 285 (text 277) the Arabic is corrected but the correction is not indicated in the notes. The world of the author is the usual amalgam of neo-Platonism and magic which is familiar from the Brethren of Purity whose work was used by the unknown author. The translators have identified many parallel passages besides those named by the writer. The *Nabataean Agriculture*, two Hermetic books *Iṣṭamākhīs* and *Iṣṭamātīs* (ascribed to Aristotle), Abū Ma'shar the

astronomer, al-Fārābī the philosopher besides Galen and Hippocrates are quoted. The translators have located passages in respectable historians like Mas'ūdī and Maqrizī and in Ibn abi'l-Rijāl, a writer of the 5th century. At least one passage occurs in a book by Dāūd al-Anṭakī (†1599) which has been printed several times in Egypt.

The substances used in the charms lead to mention of the places where they were found and which were the best qualities if there were more than one so that commercial information is given with sidelights on national habits. Onyx is found in China and the Yemen but in both lands is not favoured; in China lepers dig it from the mines for that is the only way for them to earn a living. The theory on which magic is based is well known, it is the harmony extending through the universe, including the parallel between the macrocosm and the microcosm. There are cases of opposition; if the pain or wound is on one side of the body, the remedy may have to be applied to the other side. The author, or perhaps we should say the compiler, was at home in Spain. As with philosophy, he who would be a master of the magic art must be clean in mind and body and not reveal its secrets to the unworthy. The notes alone would make a fair-sized book. There is a list of eight articles containing partial translations of one chapter and of fifteen books or articles which help to the understanding of it. Maimonides' book on drugs and the writings of Jābir are often mentioned. Many difficulties are left unsolved but the unravelling of them will not be an easy way to fame.

A. S. TRITTON.

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ASPECTS OF THE CRUSADES. By J. J. Saunders. 80 pp. University of Canterbury (New Zealand). 10s. 6d.

It is pleasant to find that Crusading historiography, which for a long time was mainly the preserve of French and German scholars, is becoming increasingly of interest to the Anglo-Saxon world. Dr. Saunders is a newcomer to this field, which he has entered with a series of useful and intelligent essays on various aspects of the Crusades. His first essay is a good summary of the literature of the Crusades, in which he pleads for a closer study of the Arabic sources and a better understanding of the Muslim point of view. In it he pays a well-merited tribute to W. B. Stevenson's *The Crusaders in the East*, a work that has seldom been sufficiently appreciated. He perhaps underrates the contribution made by Orientalists such as Claude Cahen, whose invaluable work on Antioch he does not mention. But his judgments are wise and just.

His second essay gives a short but sensible account of the idea of the Holy War, and his third an appreciation of the part played by the Assassins, which perhaps he slightly exaggerates. The next two essays deal with Egypt and the Armenians. Both of these provide excellent *mises en point*. When estimating the achievements of the Cilician Armenian kingdom he ought to have mentioned their art

as well as their literature. In his last two essays, on The Franks and the Mongols, and on The Passing of Near Eastern Civilization, he rightly stresses the enormous importance of the Mongol invasions. He realizes, unlike the late Professor Grousset and Professor Toynbee, how difficult it would have been for the West to ally itself with a power that could only conceive of allies as vassals, though even he seems slightly to underestimate the difficulty. On the effect of the Mongols in ruining Near Eastern civilization he has many profound comments to make, though he perhaps diminishes the effect of the Franks and once again overrates the effects of the Assassins.

The whole book, while it does not claim to give a consecutive story of the Crusades, can be cordially recommended to any intelligent reader who wishes to have a clear summary of their main problems, participants and results.

STEVEN RUNCIMAN.

AL-FĀRĀBĪ: AN ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY. By Nicholas Rescher.  
University of Pittsburgh Press, Pittsburgh, Pa. 54 pp. \$4.95.

It is gratifying to find a philosopher entering so fully into Islamic studies, and Professor Rescher is to be complimented on this production. The annotations may be commended as a model to other bibliographers, and should enable future students to find rapidly what they are looking for. One wonders, however, whether it is practicable as a general policy to have a highly-priced volume of bibliography for every author, even of the standing of al-Fārābī. Might it not have been better to aim at something wider along the lines of the bibliography of "Arabic philosophy" as a whole by Père De Menasce?

The compiling of professedly complete bibliographies is a hazardous business; and anyone, who has little specialized knowledge of the field, will note several gaps. The *Liber de causis* sometimes ascribed to al-Fārābī was edited in Arabic by Bardenhewer in 1892, so that the 1955 edition of Badawī is not *editio princeps*. In 1957 Richard Walzer published an article on "Al-Fārābī's Theory of Prophecy and Divination" in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, lxxvii, 142 ff. A Spanish translation of *Fuṣūṣ al-Ḥikam* by M. A. Alonso appeared in *Al-Andalus*, xxv (1960), 1-40, and has some bibliographical details which differ from Rescher's. Most surprising of all is the omission of all mention of the second edition of Brockelmann. Some further items will be found in *Index Islamicus Supplement*, 1956-60.

W. MONTGOMERY WATT.

A MODERN HISTORY OF GEORGIA. By D. M. Lang. Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1962, 8vo, pp. xiv + 298, cloth, illus. maps, 36s.

This book is the second of a series under the distinguished editorship of Professor Bernard Lewis. Dr. Lang has produced a competent and readable volume, but his real specialization is Georgian literature,

and his genial references to the rich Georgian talent in literature, the arts and the theatre during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries provoke a wish that he had chosen the subject of modern Georgian culture rather than a political survey in which his interpretations are sometimes naive.

The author paid two visits to Georgia in 1960 and 1962. As recently as 1956, there had been student demonstrations in Tbilisi during which "illegal and forbidden nationalist slogans" were shouted and "106 people are said to have been killed, over 200 wounded, and several hundred more deported to Siberia". (Lang, 265.) In the same year (that of the repression of the Hungarian rising and the crisis in Poland) Mr. Krushchev found it necessary to play down "Stalin's obsession with a supposed Georgian nationalist movement" favouring union with Turkey (Lang, *ibid.*). Shortly before Dr. Lang's first visit to Georgia, a high Soviet police official had, according to his own confession, murdered two Ukrainian nationalist leaders in Munich. None of this seems to justify Dr. Lang's optimism "about the evolution of Soviet society generally and of Georgia in particular" (Introduction, XIV). Indeed, uneasy pre-occupation with national problems within the Soviet Union seems to persist.

W. E. D. ALLEN.

## South-East Asia

MISCELLANEOUS PAPERS ON EARLY HINDU AND BUDDHIST SETTLEMENT IN NORTHERN MALAYA AND SOUTHERN THAILAND. By Alastair Lamb. pp. 90, pls. 117. Federation Museums Journal, Vol. VI, New Series, Kuala Lumpur, 1961.

In this valuable series of articles Dr. Lamb continues his re-examination of known Hindu and Buddhist sites in Kedah and South Siam, with great refinement in detail. In the first article his full elucidation of the plan of Kedah Site 8 (Bukit Batu Pahat) enables him to point to its close resemblance to that of Biara Sitokpajan in Sumatra, which I had already done for Sites 15 and 16 (*JRAS.*, 1948, page 10, note 9). This, with the contents of the caskets found at Site 8, provides clear evidence in favour of classing Sites 8, 10, 11, and 16 as of the same period and style. The author's determination, so far as possible, not to limit himself to Malayan material is admirable. Thus, when he attempts to wring a conclusion from the Kedah stone pillar-bases (Art. VII), the sterility of purely local study is well demonstrated. But, when he goes further afield and compares Kedah glass with that of Takuapa (Art. IX), he gets suggestive results. There will be general approval of his enthusiastic desire to establish a grammar of archaeology (from beads, glass, earthenware, etc.) for all countries neighbouring on Malaya, but there may still be the old obstacle that those countries are pre-occupied



with the preservation of their much richer artistic heritages. In my review (*Journal of South-east Asian History*, Vol. II, No. 3, Oct., 1961) of Dr. Lamb's monograph on the Batu Pahat temple, I criticized in some detail his general conclusions which seek to discredit the importance of Indian influence in Malaya. Here I will mention only two specific points arising from these papers: On page 73 he quotes, and rightly finds unconvincing, my old hypothesis that Wat Keu, Chaiya was a prototype from which the major South-east Asian styles evolved; evidently he is unaware that I abandoned this hypothesis many years ago, quite incompatible as it would be with my "four-wave" theory of which he is certainly well aware. More serious, in his wish to discredit the importance of trans-peninsular routes of Indian cultural expansion, he makes the unfortunate statement (page 67) that the Takuapa Tamil inscription is "the only such epigraphic example of direct Tamil influence in the Malay Peninsula as yet to have come to light". He overlooks the fact that another one, of religious import moreover, has long been known from the east coast of the Isthmus at Ligor (Coedès, *Inscriptions du Siam*, II, p. 57).

H. G. QUARITCH WALES.

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ESSAYS ON INDONESIAN AND MALAYAN HISTORY. By John Bastin. pp. 202+x. Eastern Universities Press. Singapore, 1961. (Monographs on South-east Asian Subjects, No. 3.)

This collection of essays deals with several interesting byways of South-east Asian history of the time of Raffles. The introductory essay discusses K. M. Panikkar's criticism of the practice of writing Asian history from the European point of view and contains some shrewd general observations on the writing of history. Another discusses, in the light of new evidence, the measure of Raffles' responsibility for the massacre of the staff of the Dutch factory at Palembang in 1811. An essay on the land-rent system introduced by Raffles in West Java discloses that it was not quite the outstanding success that Raffles considered it. Much illuminating information is given about British activities in Sumatra and other parts of Indonesia before the decision to leave those regions to the Dutch.

There is a good index and a very full bibliography and also a map. This is a most interesting and readable book, based on much painstaking research.

M. C. HAY.

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INDONESIAN ECONOMICS. The Concept of Dualism in Theory and Practice. pp. 443+xii. W. van Hoeve Publishers, The Hague, 1961. Published for The Royal Tropical Institute-Amsterdam. (Selected Studies on Indonesia by Dutch Scholars. Volume Six.)

This collection of essays from the works of Boeke, Burger, ten Dam, van Deventer, Fruin, van Gelderen, Gonggrijp, van der Kolff and Wellenstein is largely concerned with the theories of



Boeke. After an editorial introduction there are four essays by Boeke, the rest being discussions round his theories.

Boeke's concept of Economic Dualism was based on the theory that Indonesian man's conduct is governed by social rather than economic needs, that he will never act as *homo oeconomicus* is expected to do, and that the proper policy was to keep two economies completely separate — the Western capitalist with his large plantations and factories, alongside the Javanese in his pre-capitalistic village economy, self-supporting, receiving little from outside and therefore requiring little money. To what this line of thought ultimately led him is shown by a quotation (p. 337) "... the only right policy is to pay attention to the ... means by which the non-economic social interests of the population can be furthered ... Poverty is a feeling of want and can be combatted ... by removing the feeling itself, that is ... by lifting the people out of the deficiencies of their economic existence into the amplitude of a spiritual world ... It is the program professed by Gandhi ... plain living and high thinking."

Understandably, few of Boeke's fellow economists were prepared to go as far as this, though many agree that to apply the postulates of classical European economics to colonial problems was a mistake.

The almost unparalleled growth of the population of Java (more than trebled in 70 years) looms large among these problems. Other interesting subjects discussed are Coöperation, and the system of Popular Credit. Though much of the discussion refers to a state of things that has now passed away, the Editors feel that it may be of value to present-day students of the economics of Indonesia and other undeveloped countries.

There are a full index, a glossary of Indonesian words used, a bibliography and two maps.

M. C. HAY.

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MONGKUT, THE KING OF SIAM. By Abbot Low Moffat. pp. xiv, 254. Cornell University Press, Ithaca. New York. 1961. £1 10s.

Mr. Moffat has consulted a wide range of writings on King Mongkut in English and French and has produced an interesting account of the king's life which extends Mr. A. B. Griswold's several short works on the subject. Material quoted from the sources occupies rather more than half the total text and appendices. Perhaps the greatest merit of the book is that in it is collected, conveniently in one place, a good deal of writing by and about the king. Some thirty quotations are taken from the 'King of Siam speaks', selected edicts and letters translated into English by M. R. Seni and M. R. Kukrit Pramoj and so far given only a limited circulation. Some of this first-class material is thus made available to a wider public.

In allowing King Mongkut "to speak for himself", and some of his contemporaries to speak about him, the author has had little enough opportunity to comment in detail and with originality upon the events of the period. However, as he says, the work is not intended as a history of the reign, so that this is perhaps unimportant.

The general reader will find the vivid presentation of the character of the king very enjoyable and the book will prove useful, also, to students of the period at an early stage of their studies.

E. H. S. SIMMONDS.

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HISTORIANS OF SOUTH-EAST ASIA: Historical writing on the peoples of Asia. D. G. E. Hall ed. pp. viii, 342. Oxford University Press. London. 1961. 50s.

This collection of papers by South-East Asian, French, Dutch, British and American scholars, originally given in a study group on historical writing on the peoples of Asia at the School of Oriental and African Studies in 1956, provides something new and timely in the historical study of South-East Asia. Their critical survey of past work and the provision of guiding lines for the future, are vitally important when Western scholarship is, or ought to be, mobilizing its resources for extended historical work after the inevitable confusion that accompanied the ending of the colonial period.

Asian historians are beginning now to write histories of their own countries. Their contributions here show an awareness both of the need rapidly to expand their resources as well as of the difficulties that have inhibited historical writing by them in the recent past. They are conscious of the dangers in the writing of history from the emotional pressures of nationalism. The critique of Mr. Bambang Oetomo upon what he calls "functional historiography", history in the service of nationalism, is important in this connexion.

Contributions by U Tet Htoot (Burmese Chronicles), J. Noorduyt (Macassar-Buginese), H. L. Shorto (Mon), A. Johns (Muslim Mystics) and others demonstrate the varying attitudes of the peoples of South-East Asia to ideas of history. Professor C. C. Berg comments further on his challenging thesis which attempts to take full account of the mental world of the Javanese people in stressing the value of the critical study of literary sources in relation to historical documentation proper, which is itself subjected to a reappraisal. Evaluation of Berg's thesis is one aspect of Dr. J. G. de Casparis's very thorough examination of the principles that lie behind historical writing on Indonesia of the early period.

Those who are not historians will be encouraged by the suggestion of the desirability of calling upon scholars in other disciplines such as anthropology, archaeology or linguistics to co-operate with historians of South-East Asia. Mr. A. H. Christie and Mr. A. W. Macdonald stress this aspect.

The editor and many contributors discuss the problem of bias and of 'central approaches'. The growth of central attitudes

towards a part of the world that was, and is, subject to considerable external pressures is natural and surely need not be accompanied by any sense of guilt. Even a 'South-East Asia-centric' view, if such a thing can be imagined, would provide only a partial answer. Variety of approach involving special points of view is valuable as long as a firmly critical attitude to the nature of bias is maintained. In this impressive collection of papers there is plenty of evidence that just this is being done today by historians of South-East Asia.

E. H. S. SIMMONDS.

### India, Pakistan and Ceylon

THE NĀṬAKALAKṢAṆARATNAKOŚA OF SĀGARANANDIN. Tr. by M. Dillon, M. Fowler and V. Raghavan, with Introduction and Notes by V. Raghavan. 74 pp. Philadelphia, Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, New Series Vol. 50, Part 9, November, 1960. 2 dollars.

The *Nāṭakalakṣaṇaratnakōśa* is one of the interesting group of treatises on dramaturgy of the 11th to 13th centuries which open our eyes to the vast repertory of the classical Indian theatre then extant. As a result of the very heavy losses from the 13th century onwards, when the drama was suppressed over most of India by fanatical Islamic invaders, our modern view is cut short at many points and our appreciation of the heritage tends to be distorted by the fragmentary nature of the repertory available. To some extent we can restore a balanced view by reading these theoretical treatises, and Sāgaranandin's work is perhaps the richest among them in quotations from lost plays and also from lost theoretical treatises of the period before Abhinavagupta (particularly Mātrgupta, who appears here as a major writer on dramaturgy). Sāgaranandin's own views are also of interest, although his work is in great part a compendium of earlier doctrines. We can trace in this book some trends in dramatic criticism outside the more familiar systems of Abhinavagupta and Dhanañjaya. Sometimes Sāgaranandin has valuable notes on alternative opinions about controversial points.

Professor Dillon published the text in 1937 (Oxford University Press), and announced the preparation of a translation. His draft of this has since been revised by Professors Fowler and Raghavan (who worked together in India in 1952-3), and now happily appears. The delay is compensated by the advantage of incorporating much scholarship devoted to this badly preserved text (of which only a single MS. is known at present, in Nepal), especially by Prof. Raghavan, part of which has been published in journals (*J. of the University of Gauhati* and the *J. and the Annals of Oriental Research*, Madras, 1952-8). The present volume includes a host of corrections and emendations to the published text, and a great deal of other useful research by Prof. Raghavan is embodied in the Notes and Appendices.

This careful translation is especially welcome because to date no satisfactory translation of any theoretical work on the Indian drama seems to have been published (except the excerpt from *Abhinavagupta* by Gnoli), nor any study in a modern language in which the terminology of the Indian theorists is intelligibly interpreted and their doctrines (e.g. the *sandhis*) correctly expounded. Here at last is a brief handbook on the subject which can be recommended to students. Fortunately the key word *rasa* is not translated except at verses 1121 ('esthetic essence') and 1860 ('sentiments') — which suggests the uncertainties of the translators on this point. If *rasa* had to be translated into English one might suggest (1) 'taste' or 'savour', literally correct but with largely different and confusing associations and implications in English, and (2) 'aesthetic experience' (with Gnoli), more strictly correct in these contexts (although too wide and rather cumbersome) and emphasizing the essential point. The point is that Bharata and his successors surely contrast *rasa* as experience at the aesthetic level with *bhāva* ('emotion') as experience at the psychological level, drawing a precise distinction between the two:— 'psychological' is inadequate, unfortunately, as it is too broad, having been applied to many things, including aesthetic experience and even simple perception.

A few minor points: *catuṣpadī* (354) is surely not 'four feet' but 'quatrain'; [*Nāg.* 5] (968) should of course follow 'Jīmūtavāhana'; *nīdarśana* (1546) is hardly 'proof' but 'illustration' or 'example' (no doubt implying a universal proposition in logic); in the *prekṣanaka* the *parivartaka* (3194) would appear not to refer to the regular *pūrvarāṅga* member as suggested, since the *sūtradhāra* is concerned in that — as a rule — yet 'is not introduced' in this form of play.

A. K. WARDER.

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KHAIR-U' L-MAJALIS. Conversations of Shaikh Nasir-u' d-din Chiragh of Delhi (*ob.* 1356) compiled by Hamid Qalandar. Ed. by Khaliq Ahmad Nizami, Reader in History, Aligarh Muslim University. With a foreword by Dr. Tarachand. pp. 67, 307. Muslim University of Aligarh, No. 5. Studies in Indo-Muslim Mysticism 1. 1959.

In this volume, the first of a series devoted to the study of Sufism in India, Dr. Nizāmī presents for the first time the text of the conversations (*majālis*) of the Chishtī saint Shaikh Naṣir al-Dīn Chirāgh i Dihlī who died in 757/1356 of which an Urdu translation was published in 1898. In his single-minded devotion to the mystic path and his courageous attitude in the face of the tyranny of Muḥammad Ibn Tughluq, Shaikh Naṣir al-Dīn stands far above many of his contemporaries and successors who preferred worldly advancement in the royal service to spiritual discipline, but for all his saintliness and kindness towards his fellow men, the Shaikh did not escape from the strain of the age in which he lived. This is reflected in the atmosphere of sadness and pessimism which surrounds



the *Khair al-majālis*, so unlike the note of serenity in most works of this category. Throughout the conversations the human touch is never far away. This is due partly to the personality of the Shaikh and partly to the colloquial tone of the book, even though the style owes nothing to Ḥamid Qalandar.

The *Khair al-majālis* contains the well-known Sufi teachings of austerity and abnegation of self but there is an interesting trace of metempsychosis (*tanāsukh*), plainly derived from Hinduism. A man who has given rein to his lusts during this life will be reincarnated on the Day of Judgment in the form of a pig. The Shaikh also mentions that a (true) Sufi is one who controls his breath like the yogis and sadhus. The practice of prostration before a Shaikh (which was stopped by Naṣīr al-Dīn) is probably of Indian origin. With the publication of further material in this field, we hope that more light will be thrown on any distinctive contributions of Indian thought towards Indo-Muslim mysticism. One Indian authority, however, while admitting some Indian influence on mystical practice, has stated quite definitely that India has added nothing to Sufi thought.

Of the three surviving manuscripts of the *Khair al-majālis* only one with a supplement (in the Āṣāfiyyah Library) is complete. Of this only a transcript was available to Dr. Nizāmī. According to the editor, the reason for the scarcity of copies is the tenor of the work which advocated a higher standard than most Sufis could attain at a time when mystical thought was beginning to be more academic than spiritual.

Dr. Nizāmī is to be congratulated on his scholarly edition of the *Khair al-majālis* — a task for which he was well qualified from his profound knowledge of the enormous hagiographical literature of India.

G. M. MEREDITH-OWENS.

- THE MIRAT-I-SIKANDIRI . . . OF SHAIKH SIKANDAR IBN MUHAMMAD 'URF MANJHU IBN AKBAR. Ed. with introduction and notes by S. C. Misra, M.A., PH.D. & M. L. Rahman, M.A., B.L., Dept. of History Series No. 3. University of Baroda. 1961. Price 25 Rs.

The Mir'āt-i-Sikandari, a "well-known and very excellent history" as Sir Edward Clive Bayley described it, has long been recognized as a major source on the independent Muslim Sultāns of Gujarāt. It was twice lithographed in the last century, and two English translations have also been published, that of Bayley in his supplement on Gujarāt to Elliott and Dowson, and that of F. L. Faridī: the one is described by the present editors as "weak at places" and the other "though excellent, fell short of the required standard".

Bayley commented on the unusually wide variation between the different MSS. of this text, and the present editors think that the author himself made an earlier and a later recension, between which they attempt to distinguish while presenting "a coherent text".



The edition is preceded by a long and valuable introduction, discussing in detail the sources of Sikandar, and there is an extensive Index of Names in English. The curious spelling "Sikandiri" is used throughout, though Professor Rashid does not share this peculiarity in the Foreword. Unfortunately, perhaps inevitably in the present conditions of Persian typesetting in India, printer's errors in the text are very numerous: the editors have striven to remedy this with a *Ṣiḥḥat-Nāma* or list of Errata which runs to fifteen pages. The publication of this critical edition of an important work is a service for which those interested in the medieval history of Gujarāt should be grateful.

SIMON DIGBY.

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HEAT IN THE RIG VEDA AND ATHARVA VEDA. A General Survey  
With Particular Attention to Some Aspects and Problems.  
By Chauncey J. Blair. American Oriental Series Volume 45.  
American Oriental Society, New Haven, Connecticut, 1961. \$5

This recent volume contains a thorough treatment of the idea of heat in the RV. and the AV. A transliterated text and a clear English translation are provided for many passages where the idea of heat — and even the idea of lack of heat! — is to be found. The passages are well classified and carefully analysed: in some, new interpretations have been proposed. About twenty pages (136 ff.) are devoted to the Atri story in which the traditional interpretation has been reversed. The book is well-provided with indexes, lists, and cross-references. A summary of the conclusions drawn from the study is given in the Introduction on pages 4-9.

The author has thus provided a valuable contribution to the understanding of an idea which assumed great importance in India. That is the idea of heat, especially as expressed by the root *tap-*, well-known in classical Sanskrit in *tāpasa-*, *tapasvin-* etc. used of the "ascetic". The material provided facilitates an historical-linguistic study of *tap-*. A few remarks may be offered here. In some passages where the root *tap-* is used, the idea of heat cannot be primary. It seems clear that we have to do with two bases originally: an I.E. *\*tap*; "oppress" seen in Greek *ταπεινός* and an I.E. *\*tep-* "be hot" seen in Latin *tepeō*. These have coalesced in form in Old Indian *tap-*; *tap-* "oppress" is still discernible in many passages, especially those classified as "Heat and Enemies" pp. 81ff. Many passages must be considered puns: RV. 6, 5, 4; 6, 52, 2 etc.. The sun and fire oppress by means of their heat, and so does fever. Hence, the phonologically-fused bases are semantically fused. A number of observations made by the author confirm that we have to do with a base *tap-* "oppress", which has secondarily received the connotations of *tap-* "be hot". Thus, he mentions the fact that *dah-* "burn", when used of action against enemies, usually requires a verbal prefix (pp. 87 ff.), that *tap-* is "much less concrete" than *dah-* (p. 89),

and that *śocis-* is rarely used of "heat" against enemies, being used "more to describe the physical fire" (p. 90).

Finally, further confirmation is to be found in the survival of the meaning "oppress" into the later language. In Pāli, *tapati* normally means "shines", *tappati* "is tormented". But in *Udāna* IV.9 (ed. P. Steinthal PTS 1885 p. 46) occurs the verse:

yaṃ jīvitaṃ na tapati, maraṇante na socati.

This is translated by F. L. Woodward (*The Minor Anthologies of the Pali Canon* Pt. II, London 1935):

"He grieves not at death's end whom life oppresses not."

This is in accord with the commentary (*Paramattha-Dīpani Udanāṭṭhakathā of Dhammapālācariya* ed. F. L. Woodward PTS 1926), which has: na tapati, na bādhati. R. E. EMMERICK.

WOMEN IN MANU AND HIS SEVEN COMMENTATORS. By R. M. Das. Pp. xxii + 288. Kanchana Publications, Varanasi and Arrah, 1962. Rs. 20 or £2.

This is an essay by a Sanskritist in that style of *dharmaśāstra* studies which approaches the historical *śāstra* as nearly as neo-Hinduism approaches Hinduism. Yet it aims to be historical. Hindus in India are concerned about their recent betrayal of traditional values, and, as the 'foreword' by K. M. Panikkar and the 'introduction' by V. S. Agrawala hint, this work can apply some salve to their consciences.

The main thesis is that (a) Manu shared the current psycho-sociological-rational attitude to women; (b) reforms have not implied a deserting of Manu; (c) if historians and jurists have read Manu otherwise, they have failed to construe the *ślokas* as if they were *mīmāṃsā* syllogisms, which they ought to have done; and (d) where his commentators 'improve' on Manu they show how advanced and original they were, but where they misrepresent him or diverge from him in other directions they are not to be believed. Dr. Das speaks of the 'fair sex' (who are too weak to learn Veda) and has a rosy view of them uncongenial to sociology, whatever psychology in India might say in his support. Yet the detailed examples of the commentators' deviations from Manu are worth having. The study of *niyoga* (pp. 228 ff.) and that of the forms of marriage (pp. 113 ff.) are notable, if not convincing. All conceivable aspects of women are dealt with, and the 'miscellaneous' chapter whets the appetite for information as to what the *dharmaśāstra* (as contrasted with Manu) has to say on several curious topics. A lacuna in Manu is noticed (p. 92), and the comments on the daughter's share are well-balanced.

Unfortunately loose thinking — and loose ends — abound, and the translations ought to have been checked more carefully. Dr. Das can descend to nonsense: he says at p. 138 that Manu exhorts men not to marry a brotherless girl because such girls are *ipso facto* likely to be unchaste. And he miscites Jimūtavāhana at p. 238.

J. DUNCAN M. DERRETT.

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EARLY HISTORY OF THE DECCAN. Parts I-VI, Parts VII-XI (2 Vols.)  
ed. by G. Yazdani. Vol. 1, pp. 468; vol. 2, pp. 380. 65 plates.  
1 map. Published for the Government of Andhra Pradesh by  
Oxford University Press, 1960. £6 6s.

This vast, encyclopaedic work published with little regard for expense at a reasonable price, defies review, though it calls for several comments and an attempt at a description. Some of the excellent illustrations are not at all commonly to be seen, and one misses only representative examples of the *śāsanas* and *viragals* out of whose information so much of the political historical chapters are compiled. And it was a mistake, when so much dynastic history, and campaigns, appear at such enviable length, to give only one map for the whole of South India and for the entire period. One wishes, too, that the chapters represented a more recent state of knowledge — but to assemble all this detailed information in so polished a form (all the writers are Indian but the style is predominantly, and flatly, cosmopolitan) must have taken several years.

Here (notwithstanding shorter and more recent essays from the same pens) we have the most comprehensive material on the subject, to which everyone will turn in preference to the older standbys. The deliberate attempt to turn adrift from European predecessors and colleagues and to rely exclusively on Indian researchers cannot be proved to have done harm, though a tendency to utilize doctoral theses (mostly unpublished) and legendary material wherever it suits the authors' turns gives a certain instability to the whole. For this is pre-eminently a catch-as-catch-can corner of the world of scholarship, where the facts seldom make a complete and harmonious mosaic, and the historians' juggling is treated with admiration or scorn according to their personal status.

The effort to give material balancing the necessarily political core is markedly successful. Aspects of life far removed from the central themes are catered for, architecture (as one might expect from Dr. Yazdani), art, and literature being adequately represented. The writers were given their head, perhaps for the first time in the history of publications in this field, and the result is good value. As befits the subject-matter, there are no 'theories of history', no grandiose conclusions. It is too solid reading for the general public, but anyone who proposes to do any research (however slight) in the medieval Deccan can use it with profit, and specialists must consult it. If the archaeology of the ancient Deccan had been

represented as admirably as its literary antiquities the scope would have been complete — but learning in that field apparently moves too fast for such an enterprise as this was.

Hemchandra Raychaudhuri wrote Pt. I (Geography of the Deccan); Gurty Venket Rao Pt. II (Pre-Sātavāhana and Sātavāhana Periods). A. S. Altekar wrote Pts. III, V, VIII, and XI (Vākātakas, Rāshtrakūṭas, Yādavas, and the Coinage of the Deccan). K. A. Nilakanta Sastri wrote Pt. IV (Chālukyas of Bādāmi), and VI (later Chālukyas and Kalachuris), and shared Pt. VII (Eastern Chālukyas and Chālukyas of Vēmulavāḍa — only a luxury volume would have included the latter) with N. Venkataramanayya, who wrote Pt. IX (Kākatīyas) with Somasekhar Sarma. Yazdani himself wrote Pt. X, which is devoted to the fine arts.

For long non-Indian historical interest has been concentrated on the North almost to the exclusion of the South. There is no longer any excuse for this.

J. DUNCAN M. DERRETT.

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THE STORY OF CEYLON. By E. F. C. Ludowyk. 328 pp., 6 plates; 3 line drawings including 2 maps. Faber & Faber, London, 1962. 25s.

This is an uncommonly interesting and well-written book, which may prove to be the standard one-volume history of Ceylon for a very long time, if it is kept up to date in later editions. It is no mere narrative history, but one which acutely analyses some thorny problems, such as the long-standing Sinhalese-Tamil rivalry, and the prospects for transforming modern Ceylon through a combination of agrarian reform and industrial development. The author's fair-mindedness is evident on every page, but it does not prevent him from making some trenchant criticisms on occasion, which are all the more effective for being clothed in witty and urbane language. Some typical examples will be found on pp. 64, 75, 123, and 198. Dr. Ludowyk has divided his story into three main periods. "Ancient Ceylon", is concerned with the beginnings in the half-world between myth and folk-lore down to the arrival of the Portuguese in 1505. "Old Ceylon", deals with the Portuguese and Dutch periods of control in the maritime provinces, and with the British period down to the transformation of the economy of Ceylon by coffee as a large-scale plantation crop in the 1830's. "Modern Ceylon", deals with the inauguration of this plantation economy down to the premiership of Mrs. Bandaranaike. Among the many topics illuminated by the author are the decisive and lasting influence of the Buddhist legends enshrined in the *Mahāvamsa*, the Pali Chronicle of the early kings of Ceylon; the feats of hydraulic engineering accomplished by the seventh century, and the reasons for the subsequent stagnation and decline; the nature of Ceylon's connection with India in religion, art, politics, war, and immigration; the halcyon days of the "Planter's Raj" in the first two decades of this century; and the growth of the English-educated upper class



and the coming of independence. In this last connection Dr. Ludowyk observes: "the disposition of His Majesty's Government to grant Ceylon self-government was helped by the feeling that in handing over to the Ministers they were dealing with persons whose political and economic interests did not differ greatly from their own. The personality of D. S. Senanayake or of I. E. Goonetilleke possibly turned the scale already trembling in the balance" (pp. 271-72). The book closes on a note of cautious optimism coupled with a warning that: "Even those who could be content if the future were no more than the quasi-feudal order of the ancient past towards which the militant Buddhism of the present beckons, must themselves figure out new patterns too, or lose themselves in the mazes of their thinking."

C. R. BOXER.

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MEMOIRS OF A BENGAL CIVILIAN. By John Beames. Chatto and Windus. 1961. Pp. 312. 30s.

John Beames was one of the last Haileybury men to be nominated to the East India Company's service before the introduction of the system of competition. He reached India in 1858 and served in the Punjab — then a model province — until 1861 when he was transferred to the Lower Provinces, serving first in Bihar and then for a period of nine years from 1869 to 1877 in Orissa. From then until retirement in 1893 he held a variety of posts in Bengal, but his memoirs close in Chittagong in 1879 and it seems that the last years of his official career were passed under a cloud. Lively and indiscreet as a writer, a fine linguistic scholar, Beames was also a conscientious administrator who could write wistfully in retirement of "the joy . . . of feeling that one is working and ruling and making oneself useful in God's world" (page 223).

His memoirs, the publication of which have been delayed for more than half a century, present a fascinating account of a district officer's life in Victorian India, but this is by no means the first Civilian's memoirs to be published, and therefore its value to the historian must be assessed in relation to the already voluminous collection of Anglo-Indian autobiographies and reminiscences. Even by this yard-stick, it is a notable piece of work, though it does not compare with Campbell's brilliant *Memoirs of My Indian Career* or Temple's bulky writings. Beames himself was something of a service rebel and his comments on John Lawrence, Campbell, Temple and Ashley Eden, though amusing, will strike the historian as facile and childish. The chief merit of these memoirs is the light they throw upon the Punjab Tradition in the decades following annexation, upon the difficulties which confronted a Punjab officer serving in a Regulation province, and upon Beames' views on Campbell's Road Cess, the Salt and Income taxes, the management of the Darbhanga Estate, illegal cesses and the relations between



planters and officials. This book, provides an important, though highly personal commentary upon some of the principal administrative measures in Bengal during the two decades which followed the Mutiny.

G. R. G. HAMBLY.

MODERN INDIAN POLITICAL THOUGHT. By V. P. Varma. xii+790 pp. Lakshmi Narain Agarwal, Agra, 1961. 30s.

This work provides an account of the interaction of political, social and religious ideas and movements from the early-nineteenth century to the 1960's. It is based upon the conscientious collation of a wide range of material, and provides a quantity of information. It just fails to emerge as that overall study of the evolution of modern Indian political ideas which at present is lacking. Despite the application of a balanced judgment, the author does not command that power of interpretation and original thought which is the hallmark of the political philosopher. Too often, the critical faculty flags, and is replaced by the cliché. "He was a sagacious statesman, a deep scholar and a tireless worker till the last moment of his life..." This is actually the verdict on Pandit Malaviya (p. 464) but similar vague encomiums are applied to almost all the nationalist leaders. There is also a tendency (so often discernible in present-day Indian polemical and academic writing) to attempt to project backwards the sentiments of the present age; to establish the Bengali social reformers of the 1850's as "freedom fighters"; to interpret nineteenth-century requests for minor concessions from Government as evidence of a nationalist upsurge against British rule.

The main connecting thread in Dr. Varma's book is the inter-blending of Hindu philosophical trends with Western political ideologies, which is traced through Dayanand Saraswati, Rabin-dranath Tagore, Tilak and many others. Dr. Varma minimises the contribution of Christian belief—such as belief in equality, or individual responsibility—which has influenced India from Ram Mohan Ray to Gandhi. He also relegates Muslim political ideas to a small, special annexe, outside the mainstream of political development. Conversely—and perhaps justifiably—he stresses the rôle of Theosophy in modern Indian thought.

Within these limitations—and in spite of a style occasionally obscure—Dr. Varma has provided a comprehensive and systematic introduction to the various schools of politics. There are no surprises: conclusions deployed here have almost all been postulated before. But the book was well worth writing, and will be worth reading by all who, as beginners, seek to arrive at an understanding of the intellectual climate of modern India.

HUGH TINKER.

## Islam

INDEX ISLAMICUS SUPPLEMENT, 1956-1960. J. D. Pearson. Pp. xxviii + 316. Heffer, Cambridge. 1962. £3 3s.

Anyone who has compiled even a short bibliography will be aware of the labour involved. Certainly the task of indexing all references to Islamic studies is colossal. And within its limits this compilation is invaluable. One of the omissions to which the author refers must be the almost entire absence of references to papers on Islam in Malaya and Indonesia. Professor Drewes is cited three times and Voorhoeve once, otherwise the contents of Dutch Journals and of the Journal of the Malayan Branch of this Society are omitted from this survey.

R. O. WINSTEDT.

ISLAMIC PHILOSOPHY AND THEOLOGY. By W. Montgomery Watt. pp. xxiii + 196. University Press, Edinburgh. 1962. 21s.

Muhammad was a preacher and statesman, not a theologian, so that the process of setting Islam's religious ideas in order was one of trial and error, where politics and theology were inextricably mixed and every rebel claimed to serve the cause of religion. Enthusiasts wanted a community of saints, while practical men saw that God alone knew the secrets of men's hearts. Converts from religions with developed theologies hastened the development of Islam and attacked the "colour bar" of Arab pride; men with a tincture of Hellenistic philosophy did not see eye to eye with those who took their stand on the Koran and the pragmatic teaching of Muhammad. Some taught that the successor to a prophet must be superior in kind to other men, must have "charismatic" virtues; some sought direct communion with God; others found safety in an idealised community. The result was a compromise; all who prayed facing Mecca were Muslims and all outside the Muslim world were enemies; faith and Islam were not identical; philosophers were regarded as heretics but their methods and ideas seeped into theology till books on the subject were half, or more than half, philosophy. Mysticism was made respectable and the emphasis on membership in the faith put a charismatic community in the place of an infallible leader.

Dr. Watt begins his book by pointing out the difficulty of writing a history of theology and, in a less degree, of philosophy. In some ways Islam is intolerant so that the writings of those who diverged from what was commonly accepted were allowed to disappear and their ideas are preserved only in the reports of their critics. These reports were often incomplete because the reporter disliked them ("I will not blacken my paper"), or distorted because he drew from them inferences never intended. Only one book on theology by a heretic has survived and that is not very early. Philosophy is in a better state though there are no satisfactory editions of many texts

and one of the most important has not yet been printed in full. Dr. Watt's story is clear and readable but perhaps too compressed. The objection to the use of "orthodoxy" in connection with early Islam seems forced. To say that al-Fārābī curried favour with the Shi'ites is to prove too much; what he says about the second master might annoy the Sunnis but would not satisfy the Shi'ites. Is the belief in a "hidden imam" as early as is suggested?

This book is the first of a series on Islam and makes one look forward to the rest.

A. S. TRITTON.

THE LAW AND PHILOSOPHY OF ZAKAT. By Farishta G. de Zayas. Pp. xxix+420. Abbasi Editions, Damascus 1960. £2 16s.

This is undoubtedly a work of conscientious scholarship in the best Muslim tradition — the tradition of *ijtihād*, or "intellectual striving" (p. xxiv), which Iqbāl rightly saw as the "principle of movement in the structure of Islām". The abandonment of this principle in favour of a passive conservatism (*taqlīd*) led to centuries of stagnation and decay in Islamic society. An outside observer might wonder whether the structure of that society had not crumbled beyond repair. But if we admit the possibility of the Islamic Reform so ardently desired by the author we are bound to accept her contention that the institution of *zakāt*, one of the Pillars of the Faith, must be transformed from a haphazard charity into an organized Islamic Social Welfare System. By ingenious analogy Miss de Zayas seeks to demonstrate that it is perfectly feasible to compute the rates of *zakāt* for currency notes as well as for gold and silver and for trade capital and wealth invested in company shares (cf. table between pp. 24 and 25). The chief purpose of her work is to prove that the precepts of the Qur'ān and the Traditions can theoretically be applied to the complex circumstances of modern social and economic life, and to appeal to Muslim states to set up the practical organization without which "the Islamic norm of life becomes an impossibility" (p. 388).

W. J. D. HOLLAND.

MODERN ISLAM, THE SEARCH FOR CULTURAL IDENTITY. By G. E. von Grunebaum. Pp. viii+303. University of California Press, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1962. \$7.50.

The author has brought together eleven essays on the nature of Modern Muslim culture, all but one of which have been published elsewhere as separate papers.

The first task he has set himself is to throw light on the intellectual and psychological processes of thoughtful Muslims today, as they contrast the civilization and power of the modern West with the

cultural impoverishment and political impotence of the Islamic world in recent centuries. This he does by examining the views of certain individuals, and then by considering the rectifications put into practice, explicitly or implicitly, by modern Islamic states like Egypt and Pakistan. His chapters on "The concept of cultural classicism" and "Fall and rise of Islam: a self-view" illuminate, for instance, the *sancta simplicitas* of those who cling to what he calls "rāshidūn classicism", the view that the golden age of justice and democracy in Islam was to be found in the time of the first four Caliphs and was only corrupted by the succeeding *mulūkiyya* of the Umayyads. The author points out that this view is widely held in Pakistan, and the second of these two chapters is in fact an analysis of the views of an Indian Muslim, S. H. Nadwi, expressed in his book [written in Arabic, be it noted] *What has the world lost through the decline of the Muslims?* Much cruder than this romantic view, however, is that which contrasts, without qualification, the materialism of the West with the spirituality of the East; Prof. von Grunebaum quotes here Aḥmad Amīn. Other publicists have made the cultural interchange of medieval Islam and Christendom a purely one-sided movement; thus the Lebanese Muslim ʿUmar Farrukh has asserted that Dante, who knew no Arabic whatever, borrowed directly from al-Maʿarri's *Risālat al-ghufrān* for his *Divine Comedy*.

Diagnosis of the disease leads to a consideration of the remedies now being applied. The weighing-up of the two major forces at work today in the Middle East, Islamic religion and western-type Pan-Arab nationalism, forms the subject of several of the later chapters of the book. The author points out here that the dynamism of the idea of *ʿurūba* has allowed non-Arab groups like the Hamitic Sudanese and the Berber strains of the Maghrib to adopt an Arab self-identification. Yet, he concludes, it may be Pakistan rather than Egypt which will best realize the ideal of a specifically Islamic society, and in the long run, the political centre of the Islamic world may move eastwards to Pakistan and Indonesia.

Prof. von Grunebaum's English style is sometimes turgid and his thought often tortuous and convoluted; the first three chapters of the book show up these defects particularly clearly. Where he leaves aside sociological theorising and comes down to considering separate historical phenomena (as in his all-too-short chapter, "The political rôle of the university in the Near East as illustrated by Egypt") or to considering individuals, his great breadth of reading in oriental and other disciplines produces much valuable and thought-provoking comment and analysis. This exploration of contemporary trends in the Islamic world, as revealed through such varied persons as President Gamāl ʿAbd an-Nāṣir and the Moroccan writer Driss Chraïbi, constitutes the permanent value of this collection of essays.

C. E. BOSWORTH.

## Miscellaneous

LA LUNE; MYTHES ET RITES. By P. Derchain and others. pp. 373.  
2 maps. Editions du Seuil. Paris. 1962.

It would take a man of wide interests to write an authoritative review of this book, for the field stretches from Morocco to Japan and the time from the beginning of history till today. When possible, the pattern of the chapters is the same; the moon as deity, forms of worship, mythology, rôle in literature, folklore and popular customs. In the Semitic area 'moon' is masculine and, when divine, a male. The deserts of Arabia where men travelled by night produced the moon god and Ur, on the edge of the desert, was the one town in Iraq where the moon was the chief god. There is not much of this *a priori* reasoning. Among the Hebrews and the Arabs religion has obliterated most traces of moon worship. Ugarit suggests that the moon was one of the 'host of heaven' in Palestine. Hebrew festivals were those of nomads, later adapted for a nation of cultivators, with a solar calendar introduced. Before Islam the moon was worshipped in south Arabia but it cannot be proved that this worship was wide-spread. It is suggested that the name Sin and much of its prestige came from Iraq, perhaps by way of Hadramaut. The bedouin of the north paid attention to the moon and knew its path across the stars so that the language has a big vocabulary for all its aspects; poets made full use of it and it figures in sayings which are between riddles and 'counting out' rhymes. The Arab year was originally lunar but was brought into line with the solar by intercalation, a proceeding which Islam rejected as unbelief. Pagan ideas survived in many curious customs though in towns the moon is a tool in God's hands. If the chapters on the Semites are a fair sample, the book is reliable. To most chapters a bibliography is attached. No general editor of the volume is named though his work merits recognition.

A. S. TRITTON.



The 16th March, 1963 marks the centenary of the birth at Geneva of Max van Berchem, the founder of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Arabicarum* and the greatest Arabic epigraphist of his day. He began his study of Arabic in 1882 at Strasburg, then at Berlin, and then at Leipzig under Fleischer and Krehl, and his thesis of 1886 — *La Propriété territoriale et l'impôt foncier sous les premiers califes. Études sur l'impôt du Kharag* — gained for him the degree of Doctor in philosophy, *maxima cum laude*, of the University of Leipzig. Realizing that a knowledge of the language and the power of deciphering inscriptions were not the sole conditions for his future work, he undertook a series of journeys in the East. He made his first visit in the winter of 1886/7, and wrote a memoir on the Mosque of al-Guyūshī. In 1888 he again returned to Cairo and then visited Palestine, Syria and Asia Minor. In the winter of 1888/9 he studied in Paris under Barbier de Meynard, Charles Schefer and Clermont-Ganneau. He again visited Cairo in the winter of 1889/90, and his *Notes d'Archéologie arabe* appeared in the *Journal Asiatique* in 1891 and 1892. In 1892/3 and 1894 he travelled in Egypt, Syria, the Haurān and Palestine, and in the following year in Northern Syria.

The main object of these extensive and systematic journeys was the collection of material for the great *Corpus* of Arabic inscriptions of which he was the originator and general editor. This project was conceived in 1891 and set forth in a masterly letter to Barbier de Meynard in 1892, a letter which was published in the *Journal Asiatique*. The task being too great for one scholar to undertake, he sought collaborators and obtained two: Halil Edhem, with whom he worked to produce the section on the inscriptions of Asia Minor (of which Sivas and Divrigi has already been published), and Sobernheim for Northern Syria (of which Akka, Hişn al-Akrād and Tripoli have already been published). He himself produced a great volume on the inscriptions of Cairo, which was published in four fascicules between 1894 and 1903.

He contributed the chapter dealing with the Arabic inscriptions in the *Archäologische Reise im Euphrat- und Tigris-Gebiet* of Sarre and Herzfeld, the *Amida* of Strzygowski, and the *Churasanische Baudenkmäler* of Diez. So great was his name that photographs and rubbings of Arabic inscriptions were sent him for decipherment from all parts of the East.

In November 1920 he came to Cairo for the express purpose of seeing through the press of the Institut français the first volume of his *Inscriptions de Jérusalem*, but before he had been many months in the country his health, already undermined by years of overwork, gave way. I saw him frequently during this period and he seemed to be what is called "fey" in the Viking Sagas, conscious of his approaching death. At this time some 150 pp. of his Jerusalem volume had been set up in galley-sheets and then made up into page form. He was suddenly told by the Institut français that he must give the "bon à tirer" for this part, so that the type could be used again, before any more of his text could be set up. Gone was the possibility of seeing the whole volume in type before any part was printed off, gone was the possibility of making innumerable cross references, etc. This, in my opinion, was the cruel blow that literally broke his heart. He suffered from sleeplessness, and his condition became so serious that he was advised to return to Switzerland. He arrived at Trieste in a blizzard and caught bronchial pneumonia, his weakened system was unable to resist it, and he died a few weeks after his return on 13th March, 1921.

Van Berchem, in spite of his learning, was the most modest and unselfish of men, ever ready to help scholars and students with advice and to put his great stores of knowledge at their disposal. His death was an irreparable loss for that branch of Oriental studies in which he was *facile princeps*.

K. A. C. CRESWELL.

## OBITUARIES

LOUIS MASSIGNON (1882-1962)

LOUIS MASSIGNON was too rich a personality, too complex and many-sided to be enclosed within neat formulas and categories. The outstanding character of the man was a web of loyalties: overt loyalties, to Church, nation, friends, to the pledged word, the dignity of man, the cause of the disinherited and oppressed — and, above all, reconciling what in others might have issued in conflicts and contradictions, an integrity and inner loyalty to the Spirit wherever he perceived it. All these were in him bound up together into a unity of thought and action, and having taken up a position he remained immovable from it. His personal life, like his passionate campaigns on behalf of the North Africans, lies outside our scope; but without some understanding of the man and his deep motivations it is impossible to appreciate his work as an Orientalist. Even so, the risk of misunderstanding is always present; there were times, indeed, when in private discussion or public address he seemed almost teasingly to invite misunderstanding, and he seldom went out of his way to dissipate it.

Oriental studies could not for him be confined to the classical realms of history, literature, or philosophy. The study was not to be dissociated from the field, the ideas from their effects and manifestations in human life and society. In his historical works, as in his analyses of contemporary movements, his presentations were quickened by a perception of enduring Islamic values, that had always acted, and continued to act, upon the course of events, even if unchronicled by the mediaeval writer or concealed from the unseeing eye of the modern observer. This intuition was not without its dangers, even controlled as it was by an unparalleled range and comprehension of the classical and mathematical disciplines and modern techniques of social and psychological research; especially so, perhaps, when the natural thrust of his mind was towards the pursuit of the sources and resources of the spiritual life among Muslims. While Massignon clearly recognized that these were to be found in every expression of Islamic devotion, he tended rather strangely to disregard the great tradition of Sunni Islam. None, it is true, could mobilize his knowledge of orthodox law and doctrine more forcefully and even cuttingly upon occasion; but it was natural that the fields of study to which he was most compulsively drawn were those most closely related to his personal vocation.

Most of all he was attracted to the enigmatic figure of the crucified theosophist Maṣṣūr al-Ḥallāj, to whose life and thought his major work was devoted and whose traces he never ceased to seek out in later Islamic literature and devotion. Nor is it surprising that in pursuit of themes that in some way linked the spiritual life of Muslims and Catholics he should have found a congenial element in the veneration of Fāṭima, and consequently a special field of interest in the study of Shi'ite thought in many of its manifestations, or again in the community of Abrahamic origins and such themes as the Seven Sleepers. His writings on these subjects have acquired from the qualities that he brought to them a permanent significance in Islamic studies. But just because of these qualities they are composed, as it were, in two registers. One was at the ordinary level of objective scholarship, seeking to elucidate the nature of the given phenomenon by a masterly use of the established tools of academic research. The other was at a level on which objective data and understanding were absorbed and transformed by an individual intuition of spiritual dimensions. It was not always easy to draw a dividing line between the former and the transfiguration that resulted from the outpouring of the riches of his own personality.

His pursuit, however, led him also far beyond the specifically religious and ritual elements of Muslim culture. Innumerable articles attest the continuous fertility of his mind in such fields as (to name but a few) the symbolism of Muslim art, the structure of Muslim logic, the intricacies of mediaeval finance, and the organization of artisan corporations. An early concern with the characteristics of the Semitic languages, and more especially of Arabic, was later stimulated by his membership of the Arabic Academy of Cairo, to whose efforts to promote a rational modernization of Arabic he made several positive and practical contributions, while maintaining a vehement and implacable *nolo* to any hint of desecration. Out of this there developed eventually a kind of Hermetic view of Arabic and Semitic, which, it must be confessed, he expressed at times in elliptic studies that to the uninitiate almost rivalled the mysteries of the ancient Hermetica.

With all this he had a passionate interest in every aspect and region of contemporary Muslim life and thought. No scholar of our times has so constantly and tirelessly shuttled around the world of Islam; and although a high proportion of these journeys was undertaken on official missions he seldom neglected the opportunities that they offered him of extending his intimate contacts

with Muslims of every description, or of enriching his data for the study of Islamic culture and mysticism. It was the mature deposit of these contacts that distinguished his *Annuaire du Monde musulman* from the general run of statistical compilations, and that gave to his lectures and conversation their unforgettable qualities of depth and fervency. At the same time he showed as eager a concern with the spiritual life of the Eastern Christian (especially Uniate) Churches, which found expression in *Les Mardis de Dar el-Salam*, and latterly also with the pacifism of Gandhi, in whom he discerned a kindred spirit.

Inevitably, in the overheated political atmosphere of today, some of these activities seemed, to those who did not know him, to involve a certain ambiguity and led to the kind of misunderstandings I have already mentioned. But of the deep love and respect that he inspired among Muslims it is for Muslims to speak. For us, the lesson which by his example he impressed upon the Orientalists of his generation was that even classical Orientalism is no longer adequate without some degree of committedness to the vital forces that have given meaning and value to the diverse aspects of Eastern cultures.

H. A. R. GIBB.

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D. S. RICE (1913-1962)

DAVID STORM RICE who died on 19th April of last year at the age of forty-nine had earned an outstanding reputation in Islamic archaeology. He was born in Vienna, and educated in Haifa. After completing his Arabic studies at the École Nationale des Langues Orientales Vivantes and the École Pratique des Hautes Études of the Collège de France, he joined the French Institute of Damascus then under the directorship of Robert Montagne. At the latter's suggestion, Rice undertook the study of the dialects and customs of the three Aramaic-speaking villages in the Anti-Lebanon and lived for eight months of 1936 among the villagers. His book, *Études sur les Villages Araméens de l'Anti-Liban* for which he was awarded the degree of Docteur-ès-Lettres in the University of Paris, appeared in 1939 and displayed those gifts which set their stamp on all his subsequent work: a linguistic flair, accurate observation, imagination and an historical sense, and considerable powers of presentation and self-expression. The book was illustrated with



photographs of his own making and these reveal an artistic sensibility that made him far more than a mere recorder. It may have been due to these qualities that he was attracted to the history and more particularly the material and artistic monuments of the Islamic world; and he had already begun to work and publish in this field when war broke out in 1939. He then joined the British Army where his abilities were soon recognized and he had a distinguished career as a Field Security Officer in East Africa, North Africa, Italy and Germany.

After the war he served with the Allied Control Commission in Germany and then returned to civilian life in order to resume his scholarly interests. In 1947 he was appointed Lecturer in the History of the Near and Middle East at the School of Oriental and African Studies in the University of London and in 1950 Reader in Islamic Art and Archaeology. His achievements were given official recognition when in 1959 he was granted the title of Professor.

His years at the School of Oriental and African Studies were spent in teaching and research entailing much travelling in foreign parts and three strenuous seasons of field archaeology. His publications were many and various; most were illustrated with his own photographs and line drawings of a very high order. His preferred method was the study of a single object *à fond*; by exploring its every element — formal, iconographic, epigraphic and technical — he sought to establish its historical milieu and artistic significance. His elucidation and interpretation of inscriptions were masterly; his re-discovery and re-assessment of objects contributed to knowledge and clarified many a problem. His knowledge of Islamic metalwork was unrivalled; and his monographs, *Le Baptistère de Saint Louis* (Paris, 1951) and *The Wade Cup in the Cleveland Museum of Art* (Paris, 1955), are admirable examples of his approach. In recent years he had been engaged in preparing a publication of Islamic antiquities in Italian public and ecclesiastical possession; and, in his last lecture before the Society, gave some foretaste of this rich body of material.

Close to his heart was his project of excavating on the great ruin site of Harran in south-eastern Anatolia. A preliminary survey in 1951 was followed by two expeditions in 1956 and 1959 when he was principally concerned in elucidating the structural history of the Great Mosque. He was planning further excavations and looked forward eventually to producing an archaeological history of that ancient city.

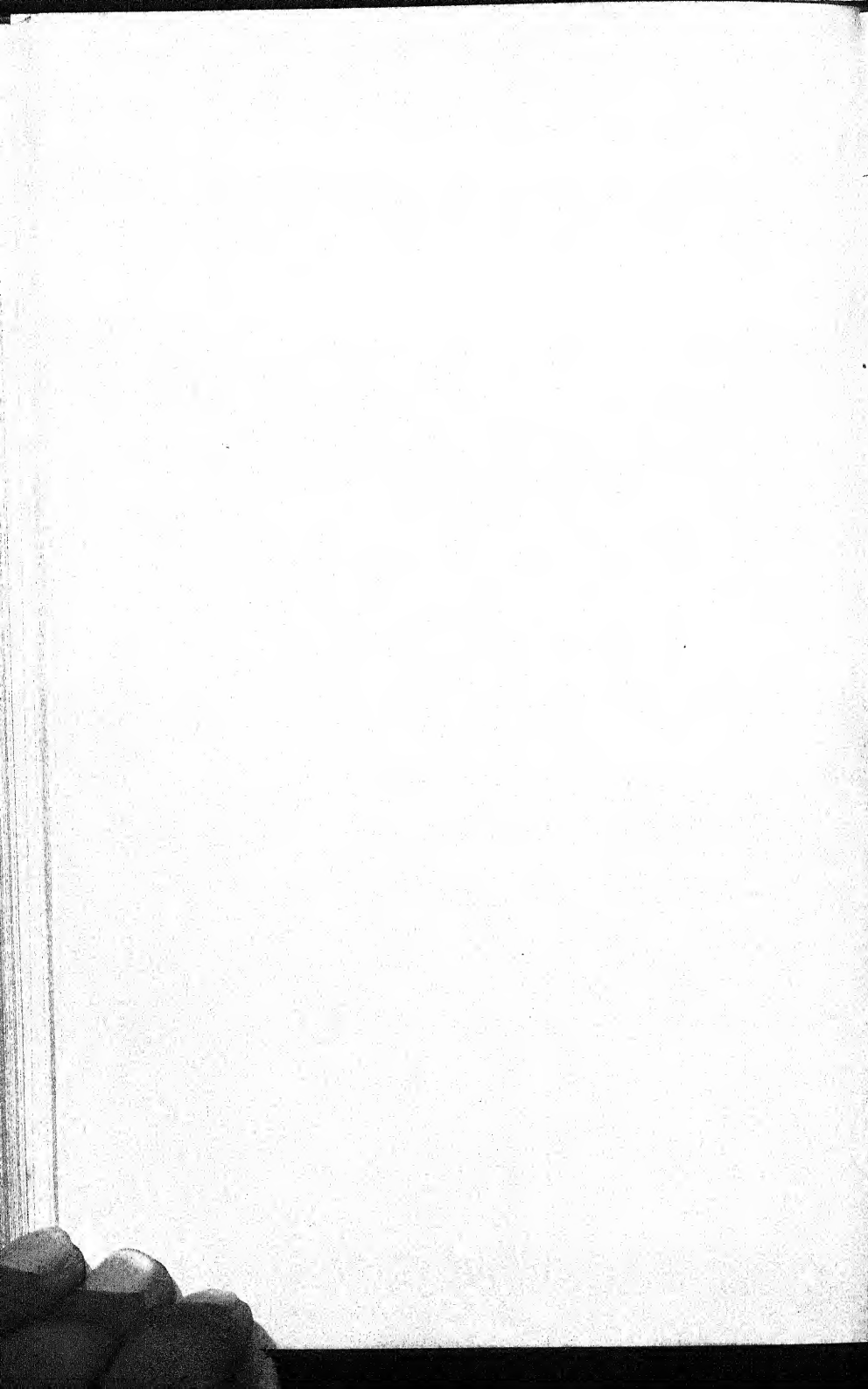
Rice was elected Fellow of the Society in 1946 and had served on the Council since 1960. He was elected a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries in 1952 and in 1957 became a Doctor of Literature in the University of London. By his untimely death Islamic archaeology has lost a scholar of rare attainments and promise.

R. H. PINDER-WILSON.



THIS ISSUE OF THE  
*JOURNAL*  
is  
dedicated by the Council and  
Members of the Royal Asiatic Society  
*to their President*  
**SIR RICHARD WINSTEDT**  
*on his 85th Birthday*

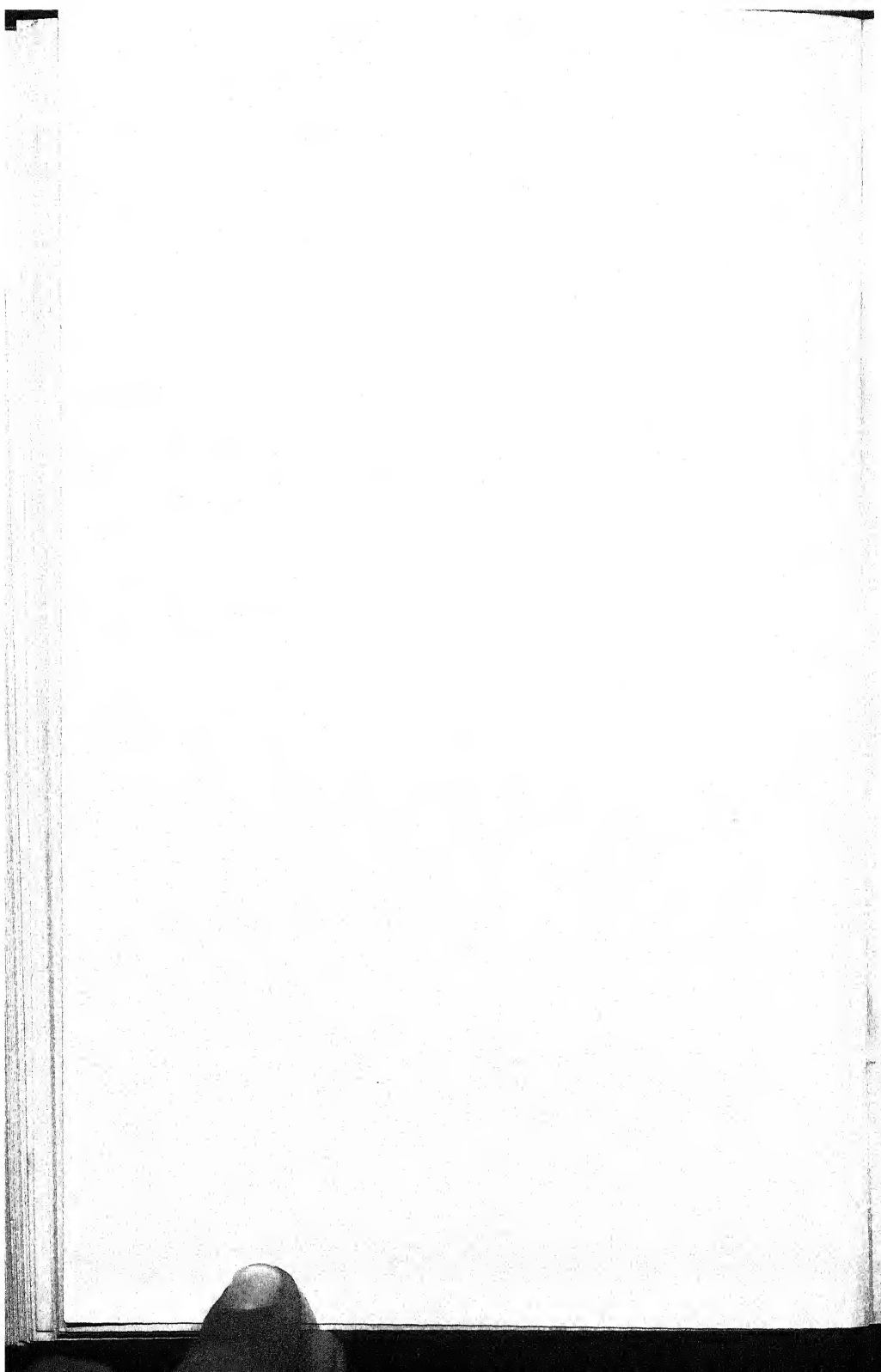
2ND AUGUST 1963







[Frontispiece



## SIR RICHARD WINSTEDT

BORN AT OXFORD, 2nd August, 1878. Educated Magdalen College School, and New College, Oxford, elder son of I. Olof Winstedt and Sarah Castell. Second Class Honours in Moderations and Greats. Took the Joint Examination for the Home, Indian and Colonial Civil Service and became a Cadet in the Malayan Civil Service 1902. D.Litt. (Oxon), 1920. C.M.G. 1926, K.B.E. 1935, F.B.A. 1945. Hon. LL.D. (Malaya) 1951.

Married in 1921 Sarah O'Flynn, M.B., Ch.B. District Officer, Kuala Pilah 1913; Acting Secretary to the High Commissioner 1923; Director of Education, Straits Settlements & Federated Malay States 1924-31; Member of the Legislative Council, SS. 1924-31, and of the Federal Council F.M.S. 1927-31; first President of Raffles College (one of the two colleges now constituting Singapore University) 1921-31; General Adviser to the Malay State of Johore 1931-35; Member of the Colonial Office Advisory Committee on Education 1936-39; Reader in Malay, London University 1937-46; Member of the Governing Body of the School of Oriental and African Studies 1938-59, Hon. Fellow 1946; Vice-Chairman of the Executive Committee for the Exhibition of Art from India and Pakistan, held at the Royal Academy of Arts, London 1947-8. Hon. Member of the S.E. Asia Institute, U.S.A.; Hon. Member of the Royal Batavian Society (now Lembaga Kebudayaan Indonesia) and of the Kon. Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde, The Hague; Vice-President of Royal India, Pakistan & Ceylon Society; Vice-President of the Malayan Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society 1914, 1920, 1923, 1928, President 1924, 1929, 1933-5; joined Royal Asiatic Society, London, in 1912, Director 1940-43; 1946-49; 1952-55; 1958-61; President 1943-46, 1949-52, 1955-58, 1961-.

For further particulars of Sir Richard's career and for a Bibliography of his works see "Malayan and Indonesian Studies; Essays presented to Sir Richard Winstedt on his 85th birthday".

The following are tributes from friends acquainted with his career:—

(1) From LORD MILVERTON, G.C.M.G.

As one of his oldest friends and as an incurable admirer of Sir Richard Winstedt's work, I am glad to respond to the invitation of your Council with a personal tribute to his manifold achievements, and an appreciation of their value.

Honoured as he has been by his own Country and his own University of Oxford, and by Malaya, the Netherlands, Indonesia and the U.S.A., he has lent distinction to the office of President of the Royal Asiatic Society for most of the past twenty years.

A Malay scholar of international repute, author of authoritative Malay dictionaries and a host of other studies of the language, literature and history of Malaya, his intellectual activities have ranged widely over the art and literature of S.E. Asia especially. During his varied career in the East he rendered great services for seven years as Director of Education, Straits Settlements and Federated Malay States. He won the respect and abiding friendship of all classes and races. His influence with the Malay Rulers, and the late Sultan of Johore in particular, was very great.

But what manner of man lies behind the impressive record of his administrative, educational and cultural activities? Unobtrusively modest, charitable and unassuming — he has none of the intellectual arrogance which sometimes accompanies great scholarship. Possessing insatiable industry he has always filled the unforgiving minute with sixty seconds' worth of distance run.

His tolerance and good nature is combined with a kindly cynicism and unselfish consideration for others, and has won for him the affectionate respect of all who have enjoyed the privilege of working with or under him.

He is remarkable for a memory that never seems to fail, a complete absence of bitterness, pettiness or malice, a disconcerting speed of independent thought, and an ability to analyse and seize on the salient points in any issue. A witty speaker, a writer who seems often to "snatch a grace beyond the reach of art", a many-sided intellectual who has always preserved also a keen zest for the good material things of life — good food, good wine and good company; in many ways one may apply to him the lines —

"In him the grave and playful mixed  
And wisdom held with folly true,  
While Nature compromised betwixt  
Good fellow and recluse."

In earlier years his main recreation was sailing and he was for some time Commodore of the Royal Singapore Yacht Club.

This rather inadequate attempt to analyze a friend would be incomplete without reference to the major influence of his partner in life. Sir Richard is no exception to the rule that a successful man in whatever sphere inevitably owes an appreciable part of that

success to his wife. The quick-witted charm and inherently active and independent mind of Lady Winstedt is easily explicable by an Irish ancestry, which enables her simultaneously to laugh at, sympathize with and respect her husband, while pursuing with parallel devotion her own wide interests in medical science, health and social services. Between them they cover a broad section of civilized life.

If one had to find one comprehensive word to express the life work of Sir Richard it would be "quality". Many years ago one of our mutual friends said of him, "Of all the men I have known he is the only one to whom I would attribute a touch of genius". From the standards he sets himself and the intrinsic talents at his command the Royal Asiatic Society is the latest beneficiary.

So there is my personal sketch of the living man behind the arid biographical details. His honours have come unsought. Long ago, warning University students against over-concern for money or position or glory, Rudyard Kipling said —

"Some day you will meet a man who cares  
for none of these things,  
Then you will know how poor you are."

I have been writing of such a man now. There are not enough of them.

---

(2) From M. C. HAY, ESQ., late of the Colonial (Malayan) Civil Service:

His many friends in the Royal Asiatic Society and his old comrades in the Malayan Civil Service will be happy to take this opportunity of signalizing Sir Richard's attainment of his 85th year and his 51 years of devoted service to this Society.

He joined the Malayan Civil Service in 1902 and in his early service in Perak and Negri Sembilan acquired a knowledge of the Malay language and literature such as few English scholars have ever attained. His first important work was a Malay Grammar. Though much work had been done on Peninsular Malay, no English scholar had tackled the basic principles of the language, taking account of the kindred Indonesian languages. As Sir Raja Chulan observed in the Federal Council, Sir Richard gave the Malays what they never knew they possessed — a grammar.

His next important work was an English-Malay Dictionary, in which he thoroughly exploited the rich vocabulary which — on



certain topics — Malay possesses. This work with its wealth of literary, colloquial and dialect words would alone suffice to establish his reputation as a scholar.

Among the six dictionaries he has published is a Malay Dictionary written entirely in Malay. So he has done for Malay what Dr. Samuel Johnson did for English. He also wrote the first comparative Studies of the Pantun and of Malay Proverbs.

But his interest by no means stopped at linguistics. He has published histories of Perak, Selangor, Negri Sembilan, Johore, Malaya, Malay Literature, A Cultural History of the Malays and a work entitled The Malay Magician. And as Vice-Chairman of the Executive Committee for the Exhibition of art from India and Pakistan in 1947 he headed the delegation to India to obtain the exhibits, and he opened the Exhibition, in Burlington House, with a talk on that art.

Originally a cadet of the administrative service, in 1921 he was appointed President of Raffles College, Singapore, and in 1924 Director of Education, Straits Settlements and Federated Malay States (continuing to hold the presidency of Raffles College, the nucleus of the present University). For seven years he guided the policy of education in Malaya and left the stamp of his personality upon it.

In 1931, he was appointed General Adviser, Johore, a post which, as His Highness Sultan Ibrahim was heard to remark on several occasions, was no sinecure. The Sultan was a strong personality himself and it required more than ordinary efficiency and strength of character to earn his respect. His Highness liked, respected and trusted Sir Richard, and his tenure of office was marked by smooth running of the government and prosperity for the State.

During his service Sir Richard earned the respect and affection of every community and when he left Johore on retirement this was manifested in remarkable degree. Every community in the State (and many outside) wished to pay its tribute in saying farewell to Sir Richard and Lady Winstedt and to congratulate him on his knighthood. The festivities extended over a month and no such send-off has ever been accorded to any other retiring Civil Servant.

Since retiring from Malaya Sir Richard has served on the Colonial Office Advisory Committee on Education, and for ten years was Reader in Malay at the University of London. In the second World War he served as a sergeant in the Home Guard, and broadcast weekly in Malay.

His honorary membership of two Dutch Societies is noteworthy, as there are only a few honorary members of the Royal Institute at the Hague and the Dutch have never before so honoured a Malay scholar from Great Britain.

He has travelled widely in the East, visiting Syria, Palestine, Turkey, Iraq, Persia, India, Siam, Indo-China, Korea, China, Japan, the Philippines and Indonesia, always on those travels paying great attention to the Art, Architecture and Archaeology of the lands visited. This is evident in the short speeches he is often called upon to make when introducing a lecturer, for there are very few subjects on which he cannot make some apt and telling personal observation. He has visited every country in Europe except Russia, Finland and Bulgaria and he has visited Canada, Alaska and the United States.

And now for the most important matter of all: his services to this Society. Having been a member since 1912, in 1940 he was elected Director, and in 1943 President. Since then, as President or as Director he has been principally responsible for guiding its affairs. His guidance through the years of financial stringency, his careful management of its investments and his energy in securing new members have resulted in its present satisfactory financial position and the revival of its vigour. That it enjoys the excellent premises it now occupies is due to his energy and foresight. In recognition of all this administrative work as well as of his scholarship he was awarded, in 1947, the Society's Gold Medal, and perhaps there was never a more popular or better earned award. Since then he has been unremitting in his efforts to further its interests. We trust it may continue for long to benefit from his wisdom and scholarship.

We offer this tribute in sincerity, affection and respect.

# NEPHRITE JADE IN WEST PAKISTAN

By B. C. M. BUTLER, M.A., PH.D., F.G.S.

*Department of Geology and Mineralogy, University Museum, Oxford*

TWO PEBBLES of the nephrite variety of jade were found by the author in 1955 in the river bed of the Teri Toi in Kohat District of former North-West Frontier Province of West Pakistan; the positive identification of the compositions of the pebbles was, however, not made until February, 1962. This appears to be the first authenticated record of either of the true jade minerals (nephrite or jadeite) in Pakistan or India, and the discovery is of significance in relation to the unsolved problem of the origin of the raw material of Indian carved jade.

The pebbles have already been fully described elsewhere (Butler, 1963), and it is the main purpose of this note to bring this new find of nephrite jade to the attention of those who may be interested in the historical or archaeological implications of the occurrence of good quality jade in the Indian sub-continent. While the author is not competent to discuss these implications, there are some problems of geological interpretation of the origin of the pebbles, which have to be understood in order to appreciate the possible historical or archaeological significance, and these are discussed in this note.

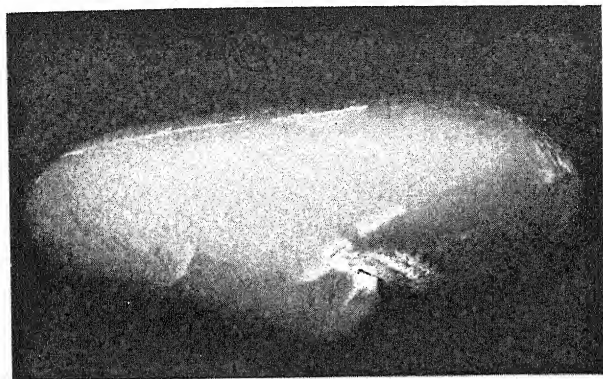
## *Description of the pebbles*

The pebbles are illustrated in Plate II, Figs. 1 and 2, and their principal features are summarized in the following table:

	(1)	(2)
Dimensions	9.8×4.3×3.3 cm.	11.8×6.7×3.9 cm.
Weight <sup>1</sup>	191 grams.	379 grams.
Specific gravity <sup>2</sup>	2.954	3.021
Colour	Pale greenish-white	Spinach-green, with thin black streaks

<sup>1</sup> This represents the present weight; a small portion of each pebble was removed for making a thin section.

<sup>2</sup> Determined by the flotation method, matching the specific gravity of methylene iodide diluted with acetone against that of a small fragment of the pebble, and measuring the specific gravity of the liquid with a Westphal balance. The determinations were made at 18° C., and are accurate to  $\pm 0.002$ . The results are in close agreement with the figure of 2.9505 for the average specific gravity of 491 specimens of nephrite in the Bishop Collection (Bishop, 1906).



1. Pebble (1),  $\frac{3}{4}$  actual size



2. Pebble (2),  $\frac{3}{4}$  actual size,  
showing the less weathered side of the pebble





Both stones are translucent, pebble (1) through the whole of its thickness of 3-4 cm., and pebble (2) through a thickness of about 1 cm. Both pebbles have very smooth, but not polished, surfaces, and both are rounded in the manner typical of pebbles in river deposits, though pebble (2) is rather wedge-shaped, with the thicker end at the left in the photograph (Plate II, Fig. 2). It should be pointed out that there is nothing in the shapes of either of the pebbles to suggest that they might have been cut or carved before becoming included in the river deposits where they were found. Pebble (1) is almost free from any weathering crust, the greater part of its surface being perfectly clean and fresh, except where a patch of weathering product about 5 mm. thick has been protected from erosion by a re-entrant angle in the surface of the pebble. About half the surface of pebble (2) is fresh and unweathered, but the remainder is partly or completely weathered to a pale rusty-yellow crust which extends into the fresh stone along numerous sub-parallel cracks parallel with the plane of flattening of the pebble.

X-ray powder diffraction photographs of the fresh material of both pebbles show no measurable differences from the powder photographs of a specimen of nephrite from Siberia (Oxford University Museum number 3916) and of a specimen of tremolite (cf. p. 132) from Haliburton, Ontario (O.U.M. number 18145). Powder photographs of the weathered crust of both pebbles are also identical with the powder photographs of the fresh nephrite, so evidently the weathering has taken place by mechanical disintegration without appreciable mineralogical change.

Thin sections of both pebbles show that they consist of minute fibres of tremolite which interlock with each other to give the very compact texture typical of the nephrite variety of tremolite.

#### *Location of the nephrite pebbles*

Both pebbles were found in the bed of the river called the Teri Toi, pebble (1) about 3 miles from the junction of this river with the Indus, and pebble (2) near the junction with the large tributary on the south side (the Pathan Algad) about 16 miles from the Indus (see Fig. 3). The Teri Toi flows from west to east through the central part of Kohat District, and joins the Indus River about 30 miles upstream from Kalabagh where the Indus finally emerges from the hills on to its alluvial plain, although it is there still 800 miles from the sea.

The bed of the Teri Toi is up to a quarter of a mile wide, but it is

usually dry except for a few small streams of highly saline water flowing over the pebbly surface of the valley floor. After the rare heavy rainstorms which occur in this area (mainly during the monsoon) the river floods immediately, and the whole of its bed is then occupied by a powerful torrent. The stony bed of the river represents the erosion products brought down by these periodic floods.

### *Geological occurrence of nephrite*

In order to explain the problems raised by this find of nephrite pebbles in Kohat District, it is necessary to consider briefly the geological conditions in which nephrite rocks are formed.

The jade material called nephrite occurs naturally as a rock consisting entirely of one mineral — tremolite or actinolite.<sup>1</sup> This mineral is a common constituent, with other minerals, of many varieties of metamorphic rocks,<sup>2</sup> but rocks composed entirely of tremolite-actinolite (other than in the form of long fibres — asbestos) are comparatively rare. The name nephrite is applied to the variety of tremolite-actinolite which occurs as a mass of microscopic fibres closely felted together to form a very tough and compact rock in which nothing of the crystalline structure can be distinguished with the naked eye.

Nephrite rocks are geologically very rare, less than a dozen localities where they are found *in situ* being known in the world, many of them being in very inaccessible regions where few geologists have worked, and for this reason their genesis is only partly understood. It seems to be generally agreed, however, that they are formed from ultrabasic rocks<sup>3</sup> under special and unusual conditions of metamorphism. As such, they may therefore be expected to be found in the site of their original formation only in those parts of the world where the rocks have been involved in mountain-building movements and have since been subjected to erosion so that rocks formed deep inside the earth's crust are now found exposed at the surface.

<sup>1</sup> The chemical composition of tremolite is  $\text{Ca}_2\text{Mg}_5\text{Si}_8\text{O}_{22}(\text{OH})_2$ , but it frequently contains some iron (Fe) replacing magnesium (Mg), and varieties containing appreciable amounts of iron are called actinolite. Both tremolite and actinolite are members of the complex group of silicates called amphiboles.

<sup>2</sup> Metamorphism is a process by which already-formed rocks are recrystallized to give a different assemblage of minerals in response to physical conditions of temperature and pressure such as are found at deep levels in the earth's crust.

<sup>3</sup> Rocks, usually of igneous or metamorphic origin, formed mainly of the oxides of magnesium, iron, calcium and silicon.

It may be noted that the other true jade material is a rock consisting of one mineral, jadeite.<sup>1</sup> Like tremolite, jadeite occurs as a constituent of metamorphic rocks, but is extremely rare as the sole constituent of a rock. Jadeite rocks, too, are formed in association with metamorphosed ultrabasic rocks, but under somewhat different conditions from those required to form nephrite, and, so far as the author is aware, the two varieties of jade have never been found together in the same locality.

It is a simple matter, using modern mineralogical techniques, to identify positively the mineralogical composition of any of the jade or "false jade" materials if a very small amount (say, 5 milligrams) can be made available for an X-ray powder diffraction photograph; a slightly less positive answer can be obtained by non-destructive methods, for instance by determination of the specific gravity, if the object consists entirely of the jade-stone. The difficulty of determination by non-destructive methods is increased if the stone is embellished with other materials (e.g. gold, gems, etc.). It is probable that a non-destructive method of determination using X-ray fluorescence analysis could be applied to jade objects of suitable size and shape. A great advantage of this method would be that a semi-quantitative chemical analysis (including trace constituents) could be obtained, allowing a much greater degree of characterization of each specimen than is possible by the existing standard methods of description, which are usually based on colour, texture, specific gravity, refractive index, etc.

It must be emphasized, however, that it is not usually possible to determine the site of origin of any particular specimen, unless in some way the stone is distinctive in colour, texture, inclusions of other minerals, or any other feature which serves (a) to distinguish it from most other specimens, and (b) to correlate it indisputably with a known source of material. In this context, it is interesting to note that Washington (in Bishop, 1906) states that the majority of the specimens of Indian carved jade (all of which are of nephrite) in the Bishop Collection are easily distinguishable from the jades of Burma, the Kunlun, and other localities, by their peculiar texture and colour, and suggests that all the material comes from one locality, and that it is native to India. Mr. J. Irwin kindly showed the author the collection of Indian carved jades in the Victoria

<sup>1</sup> The chemical composition of jadeite is  $\text{NaAlSi}_2\text{O}_6$ , but it usually contains other components, in particular diopside,  $\text{CaMgSi}_2\text{O}_6$ . These minerals belong to the group of silicates called pyroxenes. The variety of jade known as chloromelanite is also a member of this group, containing appreciable amounts of iron.

and Albert Museum, and demonstrated that, while many of the pieces are of similar material to the green-white nephrite of pebble (1), there are no examples in the museum of Indian jade having the rich spinach-green colour of pebble (2). The discovery in Kohat District of pebbles of two different colours of nephrite, one of which apparently does not appear in the normal range of colours used in Indian carved jades complicates rather than clarifies the problem of the origin of the raw material of Indian carved jades.

It should also be pointed out here, in connection with the present problem of the origin of the two nephrite pebbles, that it is not usually geologically possible to determine exactly the previous history of a pebble in a river bed — how far it has travelled, and in what direction, from its origin, how long it has been exposed to erosion, and so on. This is not an admission of failure on the part of geologists (who would often like to be able to provide answers of this kind to other problems), but an indication of the incompleteness of the evidence on which geologists often have to work!

#### *Probable origin of the nephrite pebbles*

The rocks within the area drained by the Teri Toi are all of sedimentary origin. Igneous and metamorphic rocks *in situ* are absent from the Teri Toi basin, and it can be stated with complete certainty that it is geologically impossible for the pebbles to have come direct from any outcrop of nephrite rock *in situ* within the area drained by the Teri Toi. It is most probable that the immediate origin of the pebbles is from the massive conglomerates<sup>1</sup> of Middle to Upper Siwalik age (late Pliocene to Pleistocene<sup>2</sup>) that occur on the north and south sides of the eastern part of the Teri Toi basin (the shaded areas in Fig. 3). This does not, of course, provide a complete explanation of the provenance of the pebbles, and it is useful to speculate further on the location of the nephrite mass from which they must have originated.

The Siwalik conglomerates were deposited by a river (the forerunner of the present Indus), and contain a variety of sedimentary, igneous and metamorphic rocks, representing the erosion products of the Himalayan mountain chain which was being uplifted

<sup>1</sup> Conglomerates are sedimentary rocks formed mainly of boulders and pebbles in a finer-grained matrix. They are usually deposited by fast-flowing rivers during a phase of rapid erosion of mountainous areas.

<sup>2</sup> Geologically recent rocks, the beginning of the Pliocene being about 13 million years ago, and the beginning of the Pleistocene about one million years ago.

in the north at the same time that the Siwalik conglomerates were being deposited in the south. The Siwalik conglomerates cover a very extensive area along the southern foot of the Himalayan and associated mountain chains.

The nearest known sources of nephrite<sup>1</sup> are those in the Kunlun Mountains of Chinese Turkestan (about 400 miles north-east of the Kohat area where the pebbles were found), which have been famous for centuries as the main source of Chinese jade. The mines, quarries, and alluvial workings are on the north side of the Karakoram Range, which forms the watershed between the Indus River system and the Tarim basin. Although the author would hesitate to state categorically that it is geologically impossible for the pebbles to have come from this area, it is certainly rather unlikely. It would imply, for instance, that nephrite rocks were exposed to erosion in Middle/Upper Siwalik times (when the present known nephrite rocks were probably still some distance below the level of erosion at that time) and that the watershed of the Himalayan mountain chain at that time lay further north than it does now.

There are no other known occurrences of nephrite, either *in situ* or as boulders, closer to Kohat than the Chinese Turkestan localities, but this does not necessarily represent the only possible source of the material. Ultrabasic rocks, with which nephrite rocks might be or might have been associated, are known to occur in Afghanistan and Waziristan, to the north-west and west of Kohat District, in the areas drained by the Kabul, Kurram, and Tochi Rivers. (The serpentine rock which Sir George Watt (1903, p. 72; quoted by Sir Charles Hardinge, 1961, p. 21) says was used as a false jade-stone in the Punjab and which may have come from Gandamak, near the Kabul River in Afghanistan, could have come from the ultrabasic mass near Jagdalak about 18 miles north-west of Gandamak). Although no nephrite has been reported from any of these areas, it is possible either that they occur there and have never been found, or that they have been completely removed by erosion. Although these observations do not prove anything about the origin of the nephrite pebbles in the Teri Toi, they indicate that derivation from a locality nearer than Chinese Turkestan is at least geologically feasible.

<sup>1</sup> A very poorly documented account (Schwarz, 1925) mentions a nephrite occurrence near Kandahar, 350 miles west-south-west of the Teri Toi, but this is in any case a geologically improbable source for pebbles in the Siwalik conglomerates of the Kohat District.



A final but remote possibility remains to be considered — that the pebbles were brought to Kohat by human agency, and were accidentally dropped, say, by a careless traveller or trader. The fact that both stones are of good quality material suggests that they would have been worth carrying. There are however several arguments against this possibility. There was a high degree of selection in the finding of these particular pebbles, which the author only picked up and retained because of their attractive colour and lustre, and there may well be other pebbles of nephrite and associated rocks of less distinguished appearance still to be found in the Teri Toi and other rivers in the area. The fact that the two pebbles were found about 13 miles apart suggests that the hypothetical trader must have been unusually careless to have dropped part of his cargo in two separate places, and in any case it seems geographically unlikely that this river would have been used as a trade route because of the difficulty of crossing the Indus near the mouth of the Teri Toi, since it flows between steep banks from Attock to Kalabagh. Further, the stones are too small and flawed to be worth carving except as very small objects, and in view of the toughness of the stone it is unlikely that they were much larger when they first came into the drainage area of the Teri Toi. So far as the author is aware, there is no record of a trade in either the raw material or in carved jade through the Kohat area; if this is correct, it nullifies not only the argument that the nephrite pebbles might have been dropped by a trader, but also that boulders from the rivers of this area might have provided a source of raw material for Indian jade carving.

The significance of the discovery of these two pebbles in the Teri Toi river bed is not necessarily that this particular area might have provided a source of supply of Indian nephrite, but that it is likely that the pebbles came from the Siwalik conglomerates in southern Kohat, and that, this being so, it is geologically possible that nephrite pebbles and boulders might occur elsewhere in the Siwalik conglomerates, which have a very wide distribution in the foothills of the mountain chains of West Pakistan and northern India. The boulders which make up these conglomerates are usually not large, and the abundance of nephrite boulders amongst them must in any case be extremely small, so that their value (except perhaps for sporadic and local exploitation) as a past or present source of supply of nephrite must be regarded as extremely limited. The greater significance of the find of these pebbles is that they indicate that

nephrite rocks were probably exposed to erosion in geologically recent times within the drainage area of the Indus river system, and that nephrite rocks may still remain to be discovered *in situ* on the south side of the Himalayas.

This discovery of two nephrite pebbles in West Pakistan does not provide answers to any questions, but raises instead still more problems; it is hoped, however, that it may give some direction towards the eventual solution of the main problem — that of the origin of the raw material of Indian carved jade.

#### *Other occurrences of jade minerals in Asia*

Sir Charles Hardinge has recently published some very useful lists of occurrences of the jade minerals, both nephrite and jadeite, (i) *in situ*, (ii) as eccentrics and rollers, and (iii) as finds of prehistoric objects. Some corrections to these lists both by addition and by deletion are, as Sir Charles Hardinge clearly recognized, necessary, and the author would like to take this opportunity to put forward the following:

The three references given by Sir Charles Hardinge (1961, p. 35) for the occurrence of nephrite *in situ* in India all refer to a paper by Mallet (1872) in which nephrite is stated to occur in a number of localities in South Mirzapur and Rewa State. One of these localities, that at Pipra in Rewa State, has been discredited by Sinor (1923), who showed that the "jade bed" described by Mallet in fact consists of sillimanite, andalusite, chromiferous mica, tourmaline and rutile, and that there is no sign of jade (nephrite or jadeite) at this locality. The author has not been able to find any geological re-description of the other "jade" localities in this area, but there is little doubt, as stated by Professor Hansford (1961) that "there is no known source of gem-quality nephrite in India", other than the Kohat occurrences just described by the author which may be added to the second category of Sir Charles Hardinge's lists.

The occurrence of jadeite *in situ* in Japan (Sir Charles Hardinge, 1961, p. 35) is stated by Iwao (1953, p. 22) to be of little value as a gem stone "because it is not only very small in quantity, but also not deep green in colour".

Similar remarks with regard to the quantity of jade available apply to the occurrence of nephrite rock *in situ* in the Miass area of the Ural Mountains (Krotov, 1915).

Reference has already been made (footnote 1, p. 135) to the paper by Schwarz (1925) which mentions nephrite found near Kandahar in

Afghanistan, but in the author's opinion this occurrence may need mineralogical verification.

Two genuine additions to Sir Charles Hardinge's lists are provided by the discovery by W. Thesiger of a pebble of black nephrite from the bed of the Wadi el Ain, Oman, and of two Neolithic axe-heads of green nephrite near Salalah on the south coast of Arabia (Game, 1950).

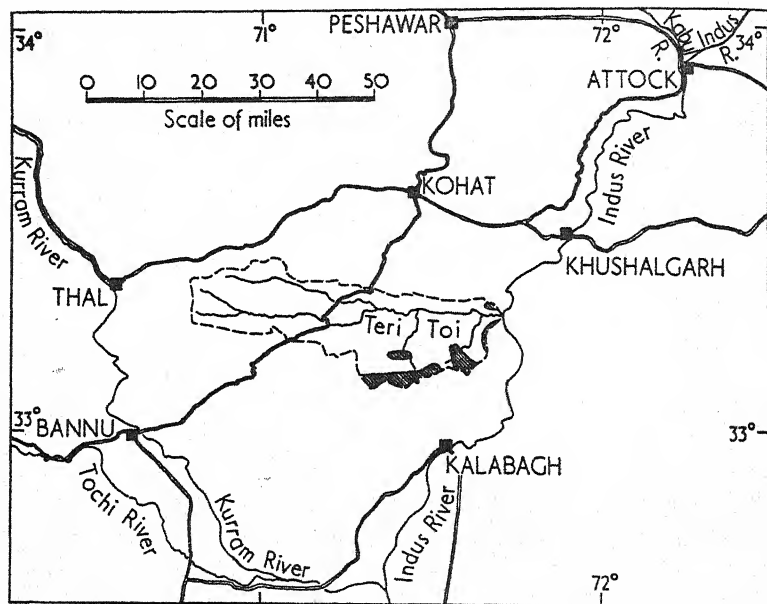


Fig. 3. Sketch map of the area of Kohat District, showing the principal roads and rivers.

The dashed line marks the watershed of the Teri Toi river basin.

The Siwalik conglomerates within the Teri Toi basin are indicated by the shaded areas.

The localities where the pebbles were found are described in the text

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## THE NAME UYĞUR

By SIR GERARD CLAUSON

FOR NEARLY NINE HUNDRED years Uyğur, the name of a Turkish tribe which played an important part in the history of Mongolia and Chinese Turkestan from the 8th until perhaps the 13th century, and spoke at any rate one of the Turkish dialects which have at one time or another been called Uyğur, has exercised a fatal fascination for those who like to find meanings for Turkish tribal and proper names.

Maḥmūd al-Kāšğarī, writing in the second half of the 11th century, had this to say about it in his *Dīwān luġāti 'l-turk*:—

Uyğur is the name of a country containing five towns. Dū 'l-qarnayn (Alexander the Great) built them when he made peace with the King of the Turks. Nizāmu'l-dīn Isrāfīl Toġān Tégin, the son of Muḥammad Čāqir Tonqā Xān said, on the authority of his father, "When Dū 'l-qarnayn approached the country of Uyğur, the Xāqān of the Turks sent 4,000 men to him; the wings (*acniḥa*) of their hats were like the wings of gerfalcons, and they shot arrows backwards as (accurately as) they shot them forwards. Dū 'l-qarnayn was astonished at them and said (in modern Persian), *Īnān xwud xwurand*, that is, 'These men provide their own food, because the game cannot escape them, and they eat as much as they like'. So the country was called *xuḍxur*. Then the (first) *xā* was changed to *alif*. This is what is done (in Turkish) to the gutturals (*hurūfu'l-ḥalq*), they are interchanged, and especially *xā* into *alif*, and *alif* into *xā*".

Maḥmūd, the author of this book, says, "It was for this reason that my ancestors the *amīrs* were called *xamīr*, because the Oġuz could not pronounce *amīr* and changed the *alif* into *xā* and called it *xamīr*; my father who captured the country of the Turks from the Samanids was called *Amīr Becergin* (?; unvocalized and first letter undotted), and they interchanged the *alif* and *xā* as I showed you in the case of Uyğur. And when they changed the *xā* into *alif*, they changed the *ḡāl* in *xuḍ* into *yā*. This is an important rule, that *ḡāl* is changed into *yā*. Then they made the *xā* in *xur* into *ġayn*; the change of *xā* into *ġayn* and *ġayn* into *xā* is permissible as witness (the Arabic verbs) *xatara* and *ġadara*.<sup>1</sup> This country contains five towns, and their people are the strongest and best archers of the infidels. The towns are Sulmı; which Dū 'l-qarnayn built, Qoço,

<sup>1</sup> The two verbs are practically synonymous, with the meaning "to betray, be treacherous".



Can Balık, Bêş Balık and Yañı: Balık". (page 68 of the MS., I. 101 of the printed text, I. 111 of B. Atalay's translation.)

The story and the etymology are of course both equally preposterous.

Kāşğarī's great *Dīwān* was one of the near casualties of the Mongol invasion, and we must be eternally grateful that one manuscript of it survived in Anatolia to provide modern Turcologists with a solid basis for their etymological studies, but it was completely unknown to mediaeval scholars. So far as the "meaning" of Uyğur is concerned a fresh start had to be made, and it was apparently Raşīdu'l-dīn Faḍlu'llah al-Hamadānī who made it in his *Cāmi'u'l-tawārīx*, written in the second decade of the 14th century. The relevant passages, in the original Persian with a German translation, will be found in the Introduction to W. Radloff, *Das Kudatku Bilik des Yusuf Chasshadschib aus Balasagun*, St. Petersburg, 1891, and in a Russian translation by L. A. Khetagurov in *Rashid-ad-din, Sbornik Letopisey*, Vol. I, Moscow-Leningrad, 1952. The first passage (page XVIII – page 83) can be translated as follows:—

"When that country had submitted to Oğuz, and the sovereignty over it was firmly in his hands, he erected a golden tent and held a great feast; he honoured his kinsmen and subordinate chiefs, and entertained his troops; those of his uncles and tribesmen who had allied themselves to him he called Uyğur, which means in Turkish 'to join and help' (*ba-ham paywastan wa madad kardan*)." The same story is repeated in much the same words in the next paragraph (page XIX – page 83), and in a later section of the book (page XXIV – page 146).

Abu'l-ğāzī Bahādur Xān in his *Şacaratul-atrāk*, written in about A.D. 1663 in a Turkish language which can best be described as early Özbek, had a slightly different theory. The passage will be found in the original text and a German translation in Radloff op. cit., p. XXXVIII, and in an Osmanli translation in *Abu'l-ğāzī Bahadur Xan, Türk Şeceresi (Şacara-i Türk)* translated by Dr. Riza Nur, İstanbul, A.D. 1925, p. 42, and can be translated as follows:—

"Uyğur means *yapışğur* ('adhering'); one says *süt uyudu* ('the milk coagulated'); when it is still (fresh) milk, (the solids in it) are separate, but after it has coagulated they are no longer separate, it has coagulated, that is, adhered (*yapıştı*). Also they say *imāmğa uydum* ('I followed the *imām*'); when the *imām* sits down they sit down, and when he stands up they stand up, that is they are his adherents (*yapışkanı*)."

One further Persian authority can conveniently be quoted, since it sums up the official doctrine of eastern scholars on this subject. Muḥammad Mahdī Xān has the following entry in his *Sanglax*, written in A.D. 1759:—

“Uyğur. They say that at the time when a dispute about religion broke out between Oğuz Xan and his father and uncles, some of his kinsmen (*aqrabā*) took the side of Oğuz and (entered) his service. He gave them the title Uyğur, that is ‘he joined us’ (*ba-mā paywast*). The author of the *Zafar nāma* said that the meaning of Uyğur was ‘to join and conclude a treaty with one another’ (*paywastan wa bā yak-dīgar ‘ahd bastan*), and the author of the *Ta’rīx-i Ḥabību’l-siyar*, when describing the affairs of the Idikut, the ruler of that tribe which which was in allegiance to Çingiz Xan, spelt the name Ayğur with a *fatḥa* on the *alif*. To sum up, it is the name of a tribe of the Özbegīye Turks, who belong to that section (*fırqa*) and are the noblest (*ancab*) of the tribes of Özbeg.” (*E. J. W. Gibb Memorial, New Series XX*, facsimile fol. 92v. 8).

Thus the standard mediaeval theory in the East was that, in modern terminology, uyğur was a deverbal noun in -ğur, from a verb uy- meaning “to join, make an alliance with”, but Abu’l-ğāzī derived it from a verb uyu- meaning “to adhere, coagulate”, which he seems to have been unable to distinguish from uy-.

Leaving aside for the moment the validity of the theory that the second syllable was a Turkish deverbal suffix -ğur, either theory, or at any rate the first, would be valid if the same kind of Turkish as was spoken in and after the 14th century had been spoken an unknown number of centuries before the 8th century, at the time when the Uyğur got their name. In the 14th century a verb uy-, meaning “to follow” and the like, was current in all the Turkish languages of which specimens have survived including Çagatay, the Kıpçak dialects, and the Oğuz dialects (Türkmen, Old Osmanli etc.). Equally, at any rate in Abu’l-ğāzī’s time, there was a verb uyu- meaning *inter alia* “to coagulate”, but this meaning seems to have evolved fairly recently. The verb, the original form of which was uđı:-, originally meant literally “to go to sleep”; it then came to mean metaphorically (of a limb) “to become numb” (in English we use “to go to sleep” in exactly this metaphorical sense) and finally (of blood) “to clot” and (of milk) “to coagulate”.

We can safely leave Abu’l-ğāzī’s theory out of account; the other requires more serious consideration, more particularly since some scholars still accept it as valid. It was Pelliot who first saw the

fatal objection to it. In a footnote on p. 229 of his posthumous work, *Notes sur l'Histoire de la Horde d'Or*, Paris, 1950, he pointed out that the mediaeval verb *uy-* "to follow" was merely a later form of *uđ-*, the form which that verb had in Uyğur and Xākānī (and which in fact survived, probably as late as the 13th century, in the *Atabatul-haqā'iq*). Unfortunately he was a confirmed addict of the theory that Turkish tribal names have discoverable meanings, and so promptly set out to find a way round this objection. Even more unfortunately, he was misled by an entry in Brockelmann's Index to Kāşğarī into saying "Kachgarī enregistre déjà la forme *ui-* 'se mettre à la suite de'," and on the strength of this put forward the theory that the name Uyğur came into existence in a dialect of the North West in which *uđ-* had already become *ui-*, and which was not the dialect later spoken in Turfan. This will not do for two conclusive reasons. The first is that Brockelmann's entry is a simple error. His reference is to a phrase quoted under the translation of *ka:b* (*Atalay* III, 146) *ol meniñ birle: uya: ka:b ol* "he is my kinsman as if the two were born in a single caul (*ka:b*)". *Uya:* is here the noun *uya:*, translated in *Atalay* I, 85 "brother, kinsman", which has no etymological connection whatever with *uđ-* "to follow". The second is that *uđ-* was not used merely "in the dialect of Turfan"; it was the standard form used in all the early Turkish languages from 8th century Türkü onwards. Moreover there is a fatal illogicality in the theory. It is perfectly true that by the 11th century the voiced spirant sound *-đ-* was beginning to disappear, and later did disappear from all Turkish languages; in most it became the semi-vowel *-y-*, in some the voiced sibilant *-z-* and in one or two the voiced plosive *-d-*. Indeed in some languages, especially those in the Oğuz group, it had already become *-y-* by the 11th century, but Uyğur was not one of those languages. It must surely be obvious that the name Uyğur came into existence among the people who called themselves Uyğur and spoke the language which they, and we, call Uyğur. During the whole period during which that language was in current use the voiced spirant *-đ-* retained its character, and in the language of the Sarığ Yuğur ("Yellow Uyğur") of Kansu, who are universally admitted to be descendants of the historical Uyğur, it has become not *-y-* but *-z-*. The word *uđ-* "to follow" is now obsolete in that language, but *uđı:-* "to go to sleep" has become *uzu-* (see S. Ye. Malov, *Yazyk zhēltykh Uygurow*, Alma-Ata, 1957, p. 129).

Raşıdu'l-dīn's etymology therefore breaks down on the ground that at the time when the Uyğur adopted their name they did not

pronounce the word for "to follow" as *uy-*.<sup>1</sup> Nor is there any other known old Turkish verb of such a form from which it could have been derived. It is obviously not derived from *o:y-* "to hollow out" (for example "to dig the flesh out of a melon"), and the only other known verb of this form, *uy-* "to knead, squeeze" is a dubious secondary form, recorded only in Kāšgarī (*Atalay* I, 176), of the well-known verb *uv-*, which in one form or another survives in a number of modern languages, in Osmanli/Republican Turkish as *oğ-/ov-*. If Uyğur really was derived from a verb *uy-* that verb was already obsolete by the 8th century and we have no clue to its meaning.

This naturally brings into question the validity of the theory that there was in the historic period from the 8th century onwards a native Turkish deverbal suffix *-ğur/-gür*. There is no trace of such a suffix in Türkü, either kind of Uyğur, Xākānī, Kıpçak, Oğuz or any other Turkish language known prior to the Mongol invasion. It does however appear in Çağatay and we can infer from Rašidu'l-dīn's etymology of Uyğur that it was known to him in the 14th century. In his grammatical introduction to the *Sanglax*, which has the separate title *Mabānī'l-luğat*, Muḥammad Maḥdī Xān devotes the fourth Chapter (*bāb*) of the first Book (*mabnā*) to the *ism-i fā'il*, "Nomen Agentis". It falls into two Parts (*qism*). The first Part lists:—

(a) regular suffixes:

(1) *-ğuçı/-güçi*

(2) *-çı/çi*

which are normal Turkish suffixes of the deverbal and denominal Nomen Agentis respectively.

(b) irregular suffixes:

(1) *ul/-ül*, which is actually a normal Mongolian deverbal suffix of the Nomen Agentis that found its way into Çağatay on the tail of some Mongolian loan-words.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> There is nothing surprising in this; his work is full of false etymologies, for example the Mongolian name or title *Otçigin* which he explains as a Turkish phrase "prince (*tégin*) of the (domestic) fire (*ot*)"; whereas it is actually a Mongolian phrase, *ot*, the basic form of *otqan* (diminutive) "youngest" (Kowalewski p. 390) *çigin* (from Turkish *tégin*) "prince".

<sup>2</sup> There are in fact two forms of this suffix, taken from different Mongolian dialects, *-ul/-ül* and *-ğul/-gül*, which in some Turkish languages became *-kul/-kül*, and alternative forms of the same Mongolian word appear in different Turkish languages. For example a word quoted in the *Sanglax*, *kara'ul* "sentry" (*dida-bān*), has survived in Republican Turkish as *karakol*, the change in the third vowel probably due to a false etymology from *kara* "black", *kol* "arm".

- (2) **-ağan/-egen**, a normal deverbil suffix connoting frequent or repeated action.
- (3) **-çak/-çek** a deverbil suffix of uncertain significance in Çağatay.
- (4) **-çı/-çi** as a deverbil suffix.

The second Part lists:—

(a) regular suffixes:

- (1) **-r**, correctly described as the Aorist participial suffix;
- (2) **-ğan/-gen**, actually the Present participial suffix, though not so described,

(b) irregular suffixes:

- (1) **-ğur/-gür** discussed below;
- (2) **-ğun/-gün**, a normal deverbil suffix usually intransitive or passive in character, for example *olğun* "ripe" from *ol-* "to become ripe" and *tutğun* "prisoner" from *tut-* "to take, hold".

What is said about (1) is:—

"The first is **-ğur/-gür**, as in *uçğur* 'flying swiftly', *tingür* 'resting', *ötğür* 'piercing' and *oyğanmağur* 'not being awake' (the last illustrated by a quotation from Nawā'ī). And in some words the meaning is that of a Nomen Actionis (*ism-i maşdar*) as is stated in the first Chapter relating to the Nomen Actionis" (facsimile fol. 7r. 9 ff.).

In that Chapter the suffix is mentioned and exemplified by *çikğur* and *tınmağur*, both illustrated by quotations from Nawā'ī. (facsimile fol. 5v. 9 ff.).

Some of the words cited in the *Sanglax* still survive, though usually in a slightly altered form. *Uçğur*, for example, now usually *uçkur*, is noted as existing in three South Siberian languages, Altai, Teleut and Baraba (Radloff, *Wörterbuch* . . ., I, 1730, 1740), Kazax (I, 1905) and Kazan Tatar (I, 1329), and *ötkür* in much the same range of languages. There is therefore no doubt about the existence of the suffix **-ğur/-gür** in these languages, though not necessarily, or even probably, as a suffix still in active use for forming new words, but its origin is not far to seek. There is no reasonable doubt that, like **-ul/-ül/-gül/-gül**, it is a Mongolian suffix which found its way into Çağatay and other languages heavily infested with Mongolian loan-words and forms at the time of the Mongol invasion and is no part of the original Turkish system of suffixes.



Proving that **Uygur** never had any of the etymological meanings which have been attributed does not of course prove that it never had an etymological meaning, but it does force us to do some new thinking about the whole question of Turkish tribal names and their possible meanings.

Before doing this, however, it will be useful to consider briefly the whole question of Turkish nomenclature. In this context I shall say nothing of geographical nomenclature, since that raises quite different considerations, merely remarking that while some names of towns like **Yañı: Balık** "new town" have obvious Turkish meanings, others like **Balasagun**, and names of rivers like **Seleje:** and **Toğla:**, have not, and are probably not Turkish at all. It is clear from the Tuvan (usually called Yenisei) inscriptions which were erected in the 9th and following centuries, supposedly by Kirgiz chiefs, that at any rate in that tribe every male child was given a personal name on birth, and another name, called **er** at "adult name", when he grew up. We do not know what the relationship between these two kinds of name was, but presumably the adult name was more dignified than the childhood name, which at any rate in some Turkish communities was chosen for the oddest reasons, for example because it was the first word uttered by one parent or the other after the child's birth. It should be added that when a man became a *kağan* he assumed a royal title instead of his personal (or adult) name and that at any rate members of the higher ranks of Turkish tribal society probably did the same thing when appointed to high office; but normally such a person had a full name composed of three components, the name of his tribe or clan, his personal name and a title either native, like **tarkan** or **ço:r**, or foreign (Chinese) like **çigsi:**. We have in various authorities and from various periods a large repertoire of Turkish personal names. Many of them, probably the majority, have obvious meanings in the language spoken by the persons who bore them, names for example like **Ak bars** "white leopard", **Ay demir** "moon iron" **Ay doğdı:**, "the moon has risen", the last perhaps because the child was born at moon-rise. But side by side with these names which have obvious meanings there are, especially in the earliest period for which we have information, other personal names of which there is no such easy explanation, names for example like **Bumın** and **Ėstemi:**, the names of two of the earliest *Türkü kağans*. These really fall in the same class, etymologically speaking, as the tribal names.

Tribal names, like personal names and surnames in modern

times, are some of the most archaic elements in any language, since they tend to become, so to speak, "fossilized" and so to survive in their original form much longer than ordinary words current in the language at the time when they were adopted, since these latter are subject to the constant wear and tear of daily use and suffer a slow but steady phonetic and semantic change. The earliest substantial remains of the Turkish languages go back to the 8th century A.D. but we have Chinese transcriptions of known Turkish tribal names from a substantially earlier period, and even without this evidence we could infer that they must have existed, probably in much the same form, very much earlier than the 8th century. It therefore seems to me to be a little perverse to try to find "meanings" for such names from the ordinary vocabulary of 8th century Turkish, let alone later stages of the language, when a moment's thought would show that most, say, English and French personal names and surnames have no "meaning" in contemporary English or French. Admittedly a Mr. Smith owes his name to the fact that one of his ancestors, probably remote, was a smith, but neither, say, Paul nor Pelliot have any meaning in contemporary French nor Gerard nor Clauson in contemporary English. It is true that in dealing with modern European names we can usually find some meaning for them if we track them far enough back into the past, very likely into some foreign language (perhaps Latin, Greek or Hebrew) from which they were originally acquired. Paul for example can be tracked back to a Latin original, and very possibly the English surname Faber is the Latin word *faber* "smith"; but this is not possible in the case of Turkish names, because there is no means of tracking them back beyond the 8th or at best (and then only in foreign authorities) the 6th century or a little earlier.

Even when there is an apparently clear case of a tribal name having a meaning, the facts may not be as simple as at first they appear to be. There is a well-known Turkish tribal name Kaḡlı:, which is known from a sufficiently early period to exclude the possibility that the second syllable is the possessive adjectival suffix, since at the earliest date at which the word is known that suffix was still -lıḡ and had not yet lost its final consonant. In the enigmatic mediaeval (13th or 14th century?) text contained in the Bibliothèque Nationale manuscript Supplément Turc 1001, published by Bang and Rachmati in *Die Legende von Oghuz Qaghan*, S.P.A.W., Berlin, 1932, which incidentally contains other pseudoetymologies of tribal names, there is a story (lines 277 ff.) about a man who made and used

"waggon", *kaṅḡa*, which leads up to the invention by Oğuz Kağan of the name *Kaṅḡaluḡ*, i.e. *Kaṅlı*: for him and his tribe, a story which so greatly impressed Prof. Marquart (a scholar so interested in the etymological meanings of surnames that in his old age he changed the spelling of his own name to Markwart to make its meaning clear) that he said that the story "kann sehr wohl richtig sein" (*Über das Volkstum der Komanen*, p. 163, in Bang and Marquart *Osttürkische Dialectstudien*, A.K.G.W. Göttingen, N.F. XIII, 1, Berlin, 1914). The odd thing about this is that this is the earliest text in which the word for "waggon" is *kaṅḡa* (*kaṅḡa*); in the earlier languages, Uyğur, Xākānī, Çağatay and Kıpçak it was, like the tribal name, *kaṅlı*; and it has usually been assumed that the tribe got its name, like the earlier confederation called by the Chinese Kao-Ch'ê, "high waggons", because they used waggons to transport their families and possessions. But it is surely equally possible that the waggon got its name *kaṅlı*: because it was the *Kaṅlı*: tribe that introduced waggons of this kind into the Turkish world. Such waggons are known in Central Asia from a much earlier date than the Turks. For example, a vehicle of this kind, probably of the 4th century B.C., used by Iranian peoples in the region of the Altai, was found in one of the Pazyryk kurgans and is now on show in the Hermitage Museum in Leningrad. It would be quite normal to give vehicles names in this way. Of all the horse-drawn vehicles which transported me in my youth before they were displaced by motor-cars, four, the brougham, hansom, phaeton and victoria, were called after individuals; three, the coach, landau and landalette, after places; three, the four-wheeler, dog cart and governess cart (the last two much alike, but socially very different) had descriptive names; two, the barouche and cab (cabriolet) had foreign names; and only two, the cart and waggon, had good old English names.

Pelliot, in his *Notes sur l'Histoire de la Horde d'Or* already quoted, devoted enormous efforts to the search for meanings of Turkish tribal names, but on the whole his suggestions are unconvincing, and it seems to me obvious that, for the reasons already given, such a search is likely to be extremely unrewarding. This does not mean that the etymological study of such names is a sheer waste of time. Like all other languages, the Turkish languages are a living organism which is constantly evolving and changing. In the earliest form of the language to which we have access there were, in addition to the ordinary stock of basic words and words made up of basic words and suffixes in current use, numbers of words made up of basic

words (nouns or verbs) in current use and suffixes which were by then obsolete, others made up of suffixes in current use attached to words which were no longer current in the unsuffixed form, and other words which are clearly made up of basic words and suffixes, but neither the unsuffixed forms nor the suffixes were still in current use. It seems reasonable to suppose that the tribal and personal names which have no obvious meaning are morphologically of the same character as the words of the ordinary vocabulary, that is that at any rate most of the monosyllables and many dissyllables were originally ordinary common nouns, which at one time had a meaning but had become obsolete as common nouns before the 8th century, so that their meanings have been completely forgotten, and that most of the remaining dissyllables and longer words were originally basic words (nouns or verbs) carrying suffixes. It is of course possible that some proper names were always merely proper names and never had any meaning as common nouns, but it is very improbable that there were ever any suffixes which were used only in proper names. It may well be that if, by morphological analysis, some proper names could be broken down into basic words (nouns or verbs) and suffixes, some of these elements could be found also in early Turkish common nouns which have hitherto resisted morphological analysis, but the subject is one of no more than marginal interest.

What we really have to consider in the field of Turcological studies is the most economical use of a scarce resource, the application of philological expertise to the problems of the Turkish languages. Philologists have been working on the "classical" languages, Latin, Greek, Sanskrit, Hebrew, Arabic and the rest, for centuries, but still find that there are new facts to be discovered. Compared to such languages the Turkish languages are almost a virgin field, and the number of qualified philologists capable of working on them is miserably small. It would surely be more reasonable for Turcologists of the next generation or two to devote themselves to the study of the actual languages, to the publication of critical editions of the texts, particularly the early ones, and to working out in detail the history of the ordinary vocabulary and grammar of the various languages, rather than to attempt to discover the meanings of obscure tribal and personal names, which may very well elude them until the ordinary vocabulary of the languages at their earliest discoverable stages has been fully worked out.

## POTTERY SITES NEAR ADEN

By D. B. DOE

IN THE VICINITY of Aden and Abyan there are many pottery sites of archaeological interest, which are still little known, although this is in no way due to any difficulty in finding the sites for there is usually extensive surface evidence. In fact in some places wind erosion has exposed thick layers of pottery fragments.

Although the majority of these sites belong to the Medieval or Islamic period, a few are older and date from pre-Islamic times. For the purpose of this article the year A.D. 700 has been taken as the limit of the pre-Islamic period.

The pottery on three of these pre-Islamic sites seem to belong to a single period of time as the pots and jars have all been manufactured in the same style and by the same methods, but how long this period lasted is not known.

Nor is it possible to date this early pottery by comparing it with other areas in South Arabia as described in the works by C. Rathjens and H. von Wissmann and by G. Caton-Thompson.<sup>1</sup> Whereas there is a similarity between the 7th–5th century B.C. pottery found at Mashghah in the Wādī 'Idim, at Ghaibūn near al-Mashhad (Hadrmaut) at Ḥuraiḍah and at Baiḥān, the early pottery in the vicinity of Aden at Ṣubr and Bir Nāṣir in Laḥej and at al-Quraiyāt in Abyan has so far proved unique.

A single exception is the pottery fragment of a bowl which I found at al-Qaraw (Zingibār), and which is similar in design to the Qatabanian pottery of the latest period, probably early 1st century A.D. from the Wādī Baiḥān. This fragment from al-Qaraw was found at the lowest level of the mound which forms the site, but whether it was made locally or imported from Baiḥān — this piece suggests a link between the two areas, and also that the Zingibār site is older than hitherto supposed.

The only affinity to be found at all is with pottery from Palestine,<sup>2</sup> where there are similar bow-rims, horizontal pierced lug handles,

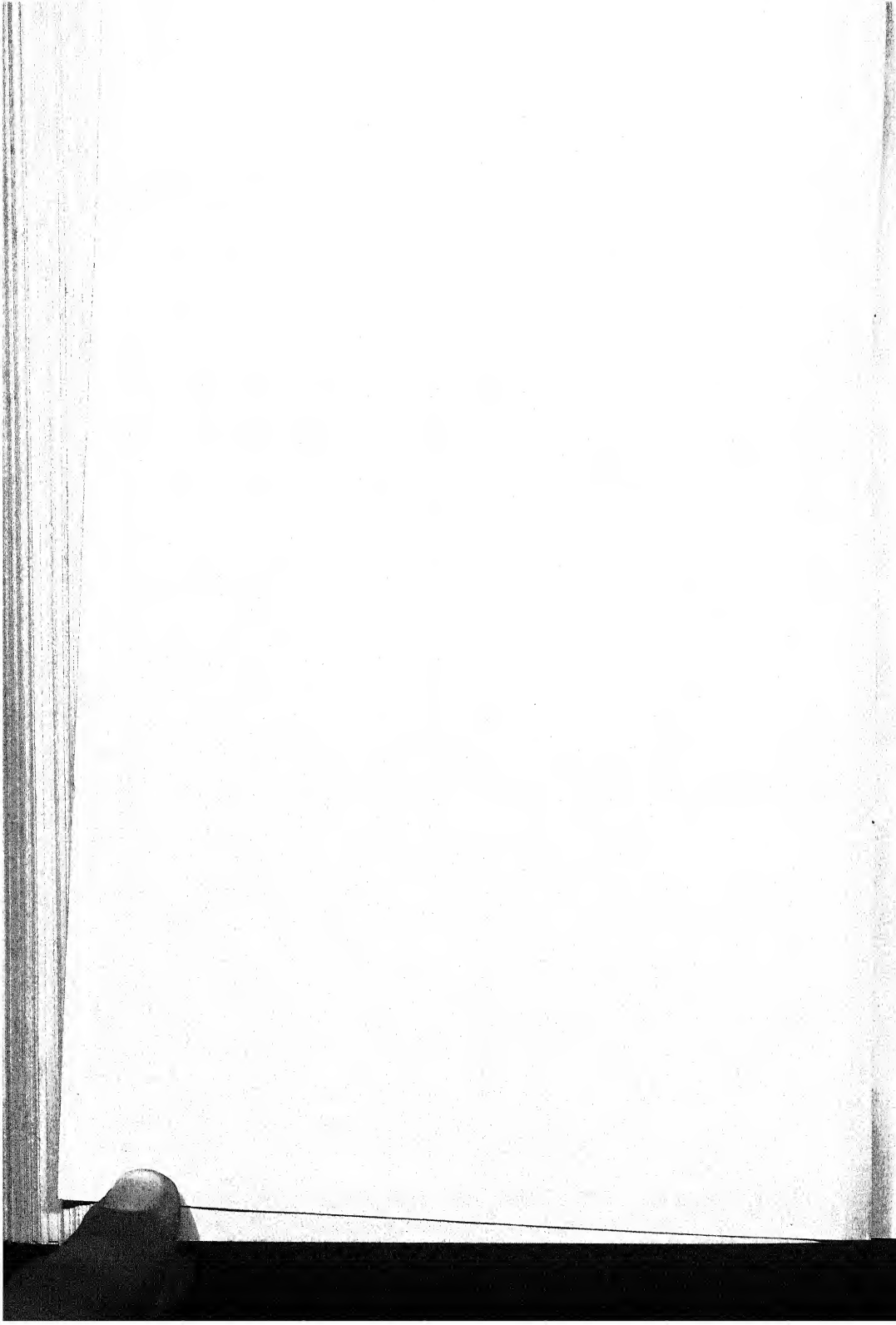
<sup>1</sup> "Vorislamische Altertümer" by C. Rathjens and H. Von Wissmann in *Südarabien Reise 2* (Hamburg 1932), Fig. 477, p. 84. *The tombs and Moon Temple of Hureidha (Hadrmaut)* (Oxford) 1944 by G. Caton-Thompson.

<sup>2</sup> *Archaeology in the Holy Land* by K. Kenyon. London, 1960. Fig. 13/23 and Fig. 41 p. 175, Fig. 5, p. 64; Fig. 7, p. 73; Fig. 8, p. 74. "Found in Mareb Excavations" by F. P. Albright in *Archaeological Discoveries in South Arabia*. Johns Hopkins University 1958, page 281 items 92–94 and p. 280 item 69.



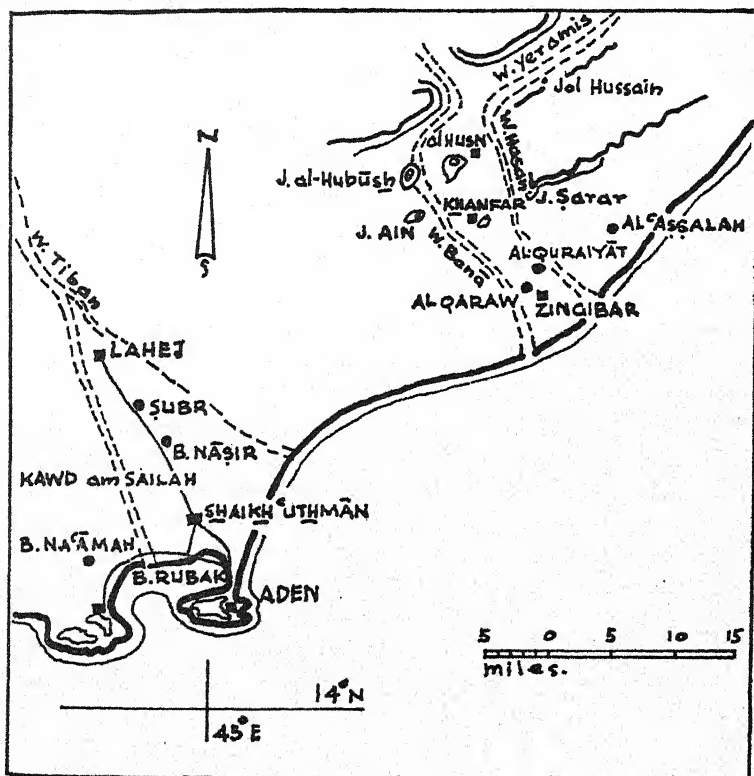


- 3 Fragments of pottery found at Al Qaraw near Zingibār in Abyan
- (Left) Fragment of a small bowl or drinking vessel, showing the wavy rim design which is a characteristic of pottery vessels sometimes found in Baihān.
- (Right) Fragment of a large bowl or jar which shows a monogram formed from the letters H and M drawn on the surface



incised decorations — combed or herring bone — with red or pink-brown slip. In the same way the pottery there has been made with little straw, is fairly thin and of good quality and has been well fired.<sup>1</sup> But it is probable that these similarities are merely coincidental as the Palestinian ware dates from the early Bronze Age of about the Third Millennium B.C., which would mean a very great time lag — too great, in my opinion, to make any influence possible.

While studying this early pottery it is interesting to refer to the methods used by the modern potters of Shaikh 'Uthmān — methods which may well be directly handed down from the ancient craftsmen, who lived only a little to the north at Šubr.



<sup>1</sup> *Archaeology in the Holy Land*, page 63.

The large pots of today are constructed on mats or on a pot neck and rim set in the ground. They are built up from coils of clay, and smoothed by a beater. When the top of the pot is reached, the rim is formed, and the potter, holding a damp cloth over the rim, runs slowly round the pot five or six times. The result is that the rim appears to have been 'wheel finished'<sup>1</sup> and this has made me wonder whether the pre-Islamic pottery, which may be referred to as being 'rim wheel finished' was in fact finished in a similar manner by hand. In the case of the large straight-sided storage jars the flat bases are added later when the walls of the jar have become cheese hard. Lastly the pots are decorated and incisions are made using a pointed stick or a comb, or a clay or metal stamp, and again the potter runs round the pot jabbing at it with his implement.

A small wheel is, however, used for small items such as cups, small dishes, incense burners and tobacco containers for the hubble-bubble pipes. This wheel is a primitive apparatus and it rests above a hole in the ground about 2' 8" in diameter. Across the hole is a beam of timber which supports the potter's stone wheel, and this is pivoted on a vertical rod which connects to a kick wheel, and rests on a stone in the bottom of the hole. The potter then sits on the side of the hole and kicks the fly wheel with his foot until it spins.

One striking difference between the ancient and the modern pottery is that the pottery from Shaikh 'Uthmān today is not of the same high standard of craftsmanship as that of the pre-Islamic potters of Šubr and this is mainly due to the firing which is at too low a temperature and of too short a period: only two hours in an open style kiln. Also the clay is neither so well prepared nor tempered.

Another interesting example of primitive techniques still used today can be seen in the Deccan.<sup>2</sup> Here a form of turntable is made by pivoting an earthenware saucer over an inverted bowl. The saucer containing the clay for the new pot is revolved by one hand, while the other shapes the new pot, the equilibrium being maintained by the use of the toes. In a case of this sort one may wonder whether this primitive turntable — which incidentally is operated only by women — is a survival of pre-wheel times, or whether the turntable is a curious degenerate development of the more efficient wheel. It is completely open to conjecture whether a similar turntable was ever used in South Arabia for the smaller pots.

<sup>1</sup> Ibid., cf. p. 123.

<sup>2</sup> "Poor Men's Thalīs; a Deccan Potter's Technique" by F. R. Allchin, *BSOAS.*, Vol. XXII pt. 2, 1959.

It would of course leave no trace, and so far, no stone-socketed turntables have been found on old sites.

In general the pre-Islamic pottery was made of good quality clay, tempered with chopped straw, local sand or steatite, and sometimes with combinations of all three. The firing was thorough and even. The articles were pink-brown in colour usually with a slip coat; the interior sometimes had a wet-smooth finish, and was sometimes hand burnished with horizontal, vertical, latticed or criss-crossed strokes.<sup>1</sup> The rim was smoothed or given the so-called slow wheel finish. The handles were either the pierced lug-type, usually horizontal, or ledge, or continuous ledge handles. The decoration was usually simple and consisted of incised work, herring bone, pie-crust or combed, with continuous and interrupted patterns.

The articles of pottery found include incense burners, pots, large *zirs* and bowls with wide or narrow mouths, either with or without handles and spouts. Very few ring bases have been found and the nearly complete pots which have been preserved have round or flat bases. The absence of bases was probably due to the fact that most pots were used for cooking, and since they probably stood in a hole in the earth floors of the houses, supported by three or four stones, bases were not necessary.

The pottery from the Medieval sites, however, is more akin to the modern than the pre-Islamic, in that it is of a poorer quality. Again the clay has not been so well prepared, the finish is of a lower standard. The articles found are still domestic in nature — pieces of bowls, saucer-shaped plates and sometimes jugs with high necks. A few bowls have been found with little spouts jutting out, turning them into squat fat jugs. The bowls and jugs sometimes have lug handles — pierced or moulded — or sometimes the vertical strap variety. Incised decoration is usually combed in wavy lines, or scratched on in simple patterns.

Many of the glazed bowls and plates are painted yellow with brown and green patterns. Other glazed pottery fragments sometimes found to have the heavy green-blue glazing, sometimes associated with the Parthian ware (2nd century A.D.). Generally there is no burnishing of unglazed ware and there is often no attempt at any form of embellishment except lightly incised line and combed patterns.

<sup>1</sup> *Archaeology in the Holy Land* by K. Kenyon, p. 123. "The burnishing, always by hand, is sometimes continuous and sometimes in criss-cross or other patterns, . . ." (At Šubr the lattice patterns may have been formed by careless strokes when nearing the bottom of the bowl.) [writer's note]



In addition to the pottery on the Medieval sites there are often large quantities of glassware which was also manufactured locally. It is probable that this glass manufacturing was introduced by the Persians during the time that South Arabia was a Persian satrapy in the 6th-7th century A.D. This industry may have been initiated here to promote the export of glassware, and of glass bracelets in particular, to the African Coast. Lumps of glass or slag indications that glass factories must once have stood here, have been found on two sites so far: Kawd am-Sailah, three miles North-West of Shaikh 'Uthmān, and al-Qaraw in Zingibār (Zinjibār), Abyan.

The glassware produced was generally in the form of pale-green, thin-walled bottles with long necks — sometimes bulbed — and pouring lips, with either a pointed base or flat, concave shaped bases. I have yet to find a bottle the container part of which has remained unbroken, for the walls were blown thin and fractured easily.

In equal profusion are the fragments of glass bracelets, and it is rare when they are not to be found at all. These glass bracelets were very popular and widely manufactured at this time and they have been found in areas stretching from India and Persia to East Africa. They are usually either flat or triangular in section, and in appearance vary from the unadorned plain green or sometimes black and dark blue, to the ornate with stripes and bands of red, blue, green, brown, yellow and white, which are sometimes further enhanced by raised coloured spots patterning the outer surface.

Fragments of imported ware are also found in profusion on many of the sites. These are mostly pieces of porcelain — Persian, Chinese, or Siamese. The majority are broken cups but plates and dishes have also been seen. They usually have glazed decoration of blue-green linear patterns but neither the decoration nor the surface finish, which is often pock-marked in places, is of a high standard of workmanship. I consider that much of this porcelain dates from between the 17th century and the early 19th century, but some fragments may be as old as the 13th century A.D. Also found on these late sites are medieval coins, usually of copper. These naturally help to date the occupation period of the sites.

Much of this material has already been discussed in the article 'Pottery and Glass Fragments from the Aden Littoral' by Lane and Serjeant; published in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, London, 1948, and it is the intention of this article to be considered

as an extension to this earlier publication, particularly in the question of identifying some of the sites.

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The present-day Abyan lies between the Wādīs Banā on the West and Ḥasan on the East, and it is probable that the 'Banā' (Abyan) mentioned by Ptolemy in the 2nd century A.D. as a trade route stage between Aden and Shabwah refers to the same area.

From Pliny<sup>1</sup> we learn that a town called Messalum Oppidum in this vicinity was a collecting place for the white myrrh, and it is possible that this Messalum Oppidum was near the site of the present al-'Aṣṣalah. The white myrrh collected probably came from the country of Dahas (present-day Yāfi') through which the ancient trade routes passed — it is significant that pottery from sites in the Yāfi' area are similar to that from Ṣubr.

We also know that in the 5th century B.C. the Wādī Banā was the boundary between Tafiḍ<sup>2</sup> (Abyan Delta) on the East, and Tubanaw, the coastal kingdom which stretched as far as Bāb al-Mandab, and included the port of Aden, on the West.

The coastline of Abyan then, however, must have been vastly different to its coastline today. To begin with, in the 2nd century A.D. it lay about 2 miles inland from its present alignment. There was certainly a port there in the 10th century A.D.<sup>3</sup> as noted by al-Khazraji in his 'History of the Rasūlī Dynasty', and there was probably a port there even at the beginning of the Christian era.

Abyan was therefore probably a busy, fairly well-populated area, dotted with small towns and camping sites, guarded by forts placed in strategic positions on the tops of the surrounding hills, and it is the remains of many of these that we see today.

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<sup>1</sup> *De Mari Erythraeo* by H. Von Wissmann. Stuttgart, 1957, p. 313 and cf. Note 18.

<sup>2</sup> *Beiträge zur historischen Geographie des vorislamischen Südarabien* by H. Von Wissmann and M. Höfner — 1952, p. 285 (67) and p. 286 (68).

<sup>3</sup> *Pottery and Glass Fragments from the Aden Littoral* by Lane and Serjeant p. 112 and cf. Note 3.

## SITES TO THE EAST OF THE BANĀ:

AL QARAW (ZINGIBĀR) — (*Early*)

This site which is a mound over 600 metres across lies to the north of the modern town, and is adjacent to the Government Assistant Advisor's House. The remains are apparently of a medieval town, and tradition has it that it was destroyed by fire during the internecine wars of the Middle Ages. Below the surface it is spread with fine dark ash.

This was at first thought to be a late site only, and the fragments of pottery, glazed ware and porcelain supported this supposition.

There have now, however, been found pieces of pottery which have a very strong resemblance to pottery of the latest Qatabanian period in Wādī Baiḥān. This connection with the pre-Islamic period is shown particularly well by a single portion of an unglazed bowl with the significant wavy rim edge, probably formed by moulding the thin clay vertically between the fingers. There is also a piece of unglazed pottery with the Ḥimyaritic letters H and M joined in the form of a monogram scratched on the surface, and a goblet on a tall stem similar to Type 1 found at Ḥuraidah by G. Caton-Thompson, F.S.A.

It is therefore possible that this site is older than has hitherto been supposed.

Ji'ĀR — (*Late*)

This site is north of Zingibār. Its most prominent geographical feature is Khanfar, the great rock, which rises from the centre of the Abyan plain, between the Wādīs Ḥasan and Banā. The top of the rock must have been a military lookout and stronghold from the earliest times. In the medieval period there also existed a town at the foot of the hill, like the present-day Ji'ār, although it lay to the south of the modern town. It was destroyed by fire, possibly during the wars for the control of the Abyan district in the 16th century A.D., although mud and burnt brick walls are still visible with plaster floors trowelled smooth.

AL-'AṢṢALAH (THE TOWN) — (*Late*)

This site was used in comparatively recent times, and many of its deserted mud-brick houses are still standing.

The town, which extends some 350 metres by 150 metres is about 3 miles from the coast. It lies on a mound, which rises nearly 20

metres from the surrounding level ground and which may have been formed partly naturally and partly by earlier debris.

The well of al-‘Aṣṣalah is still in use (there is also the site of another), and it too is on a mound, some 500 metres eastwards of the town.

In general all the unglazed pottery sherds from this site seem of recent manufacture, but fragments of imported ware are probably 200 years old or even older.

There were also many pieces of Persian and Chinese (or Siamese) porcelain cups and small bowls probably of the 17th century or possibly later. These were usually decorated with glazed linear patterns, mostly blue but sometimes red or combinations of red and green.

#### AḤWAR — (*Late*)

This particular site is about a mile south-west of the town of Aḥwar east of Shuqrā’. There are several sites in this area, which require to be surveyed. This is a medieval site and the surface fragments are similar to those found at al-‘Aṣṣalah and at Kawd am-Sailah.

Sites in the vicinity of Shuqrā’ are also worth a close survey and may prove to be pre-Islamic. A glazed jar recently found may be Parthian ware.

#### AL-QURAIYĀT — (*Early*)

This is an extensive pre-Islamic site about 400 metres or more wide, although in places it has been covered by modern agricultural fieldworks. It straddles the track leading north-west some 3 miles from Zingibār and the site is located bearing 323° on Jabal Ṣarār and 206° to the water tower at Zingibār.

It is an open site and there are no signs of buildings, nor did I see any remains of a well, but as the site is very close to the west side of the Wādī Ḥasan, water could easily have been procured. The Wādī would have also provided water for irrigation purposes, as it does in this area today.

There appears to be no stratification, and no distinctive medieval pottery sherds were noticed. Pottery handles found were of the pierced lug type, generally horizontal. Bowl decoration is combed pie-crust, indented and incised. On the whole the pottery has been well-fired, and the workmanship (possibly with the use of the slow wheel), has a high standard of finish. Sometimes the walls are

horizontally hand burnished on the inside, and vertically burnished on the outside, although the inside is frequently given a wet-smooth finish. The dating of this site may be similar to that of Şubr.

#### ZINGIBĀR AREA — (*Early*)

This is a small site, west of the Wādī Ḥasan about 3 miles north-east from Zingibār on the road to al-‘Aşşalah and to Shuqrā’ and is due south of al-Quraiyāt.

#### AL-QURAIYĀT (No. 2) — (*Late*)

This site is 3 miles north of Zingibār, on the track to al-Ṭarīyah, and bearing 180° to Zingibār water tower and 340° to Jabal Şarār. There is no apparent stratification and it is a completely open oval site with no buildings, although hard burnt bricks are strewn in places. The site is over 650 metres across on the east-west axis. It seems to be entirely medieval, and it is possibly no older than the 15th century A.D.

### SITES ON THE WEST OF THE WĀDĪ BANĀ, AN AREA WHICH EMBRACES THE LAḤEJ DISTRICT AND THE PORT OF ADEN:

#### JABAL ‘AIN

This site is between three small rocky hills, and lies about 4-5 miles west of Khanfar (Ji‘ār) in Abyan, and about 4-5 miles south of the fortress hill of Jabal al-Ḥubūsh (750'). It was possibly an ancient camping site near the well, and pieces of water jars are to be found on the surface of the ground. These sherds appear to belong to different periods, but the majority seem to be medieval but are well-fired. There is both wheel-made and hand-made ware, which is not burnished but finished with incised and combed decoration. Generally the body of the pottery is reddish-buff with often a grey core.

#### ŞUBR, LAḤEJ — (*Early*)

This important site straddles the Aden-Laḥej road about 6 miles south of Laḥej. It is an open site with no remains of buildings on it, and from north-west to south-west it is about a mile in diameter before it disappears beneath high sand dunes, although it reappears in places where the dunes expose the original surface. The whole



distance the colour of the whole terrain is brownish-red. In general the sherds lie on the surface, and to a depth of about 2' although in places they have been found at a greater depth.

The thick covering of sherds on the surface may be the result of erosion by the strong winds, leaving the eroded-pottery sherds and exposing new ones. During a small excavation it was noticed also that the stratification of sherds did not follow the lines of the mound but inclined inwards, and at a depth of 5' the pottery fragments remained the same type as on the surface.

The site consists of a series of long mounds — possibly of ancient origin — which have the appearance of tells and although superficial examination suggests that the mounds are natural, deep excavation might show otherwise. Superficial scratching of the surface sand on some of these mounds reveals grey soil or mud with pockets of ash. It is possible that mud-brick dwellings made of the local earth, as are the modern buildings in this area, once stood here.

One mound which is larger than the others lies on the western side of the main road, but it is now covered by a modern house. The wells in present-day use are situated close to this mound and nearby some modern mud-brick houses form a small village.

Şubr was probably a great central depôt near the Laḥej oasis, where the large camel caravans formed up before their journey northward, after taking over the exotic merchandise which had passed through Aden from the East or from the Horn of Africa.

The presence of so much pottery here must indicate the considerable length of time that this site was used, as also the many sheep and goat bones, the charcoal fires, and large pots that clearly had been used for cooking. All the cooking pots that have so far been found have thin walls and round bottoms, and this design would account for the large number of pottery sherds apparently without bases.

When the port of Aden was destroyed and the trade route leading from it broken up, Şubr must have ceased to be a caravan centre. The date of this event is unknown, but it probably occurred during the wars for supremacy between Ḥimyar, Qatabān and Sabā, generally thought to have been in the late 2nd century B.C. The *Periplus of the Erythraean Seas*, mentions the 'recent' destruction of the port, but the date of the *Periplus* itself is by no means certain. It could have been written between the middle of the 1st century A.D. and the end of the 2nd century.

With Aden out of commission, it is likely that the Ḥimyar soon found another site for a port on the Abyan littoral through which to export their myrrh and receive the entrepôt trade, and other sites inland became caravan depôts, although Muza (modern Mawza') near Mocha became the main port of Ḥimyar for their new capital at Zafār. Šubr probably continued its life as a market town until about the 6th–7th century A.D. when it was replaced by al-Ḥawṭah (Laḥej), which became the new market town and Šubr fell into complete disuse.

On the northern part of the site at Šubr, I found early square bricks or tiles, which were 16 cm. × 18 cm. and approximately 4 cm. thick. Their condition was poor after exposure, but they were hard and well-fired, and mixed with straw or grass and micaceous sand.

The pottery at Šubr is all of local manufacture, made of the micaceous sand that is characteristic of this area. It has a high standard of finish probably with the help of the slow wheel and it is usually well-fired. Decoration is incised, combed (both continuous and interrupted types), pie-crust and indented, and in one part of the site many bowls are pebble-burnished horizontally inside, while the external surface of other bowls were burnished horizontally and vertically. Often the interior surface was set-smooth finished with a bunch of straw. Handles were generally only of the pierced lug type either horizontal or vertical, and they were sometimes decorated with comb work. All the pottery fragments have a slip coat of a colour ranging from pinky-red to brown. Pieces of the grey steatite ware have also been found here.

One fact however remains clear: however long the site was used, the technique for making the pots and their design remained almost constant. The rarity of similar designs to be found elsewhere show that pottery made in the kilns at Šubr was not manufactured for distribution.

The earliest dating of this pottery is difficult, and the 5th century B.C. has been suggested.

Lying on the surface and amongst the sherds at Šubr were a few obsidian artifacts — one of which was a cutter. Patient search may reveal more. While their presence could be an indication of the antiquity of the site, it may also be due to the fact that stone tools continued in use in this area long after they were abandoned by the more advanced culture of the north.

There is also a quantity of basalt cores and chips, from which artifacts have been struck, spread over the site. Some of the flakes and chips bear signs of being retouched.

Glass fragments have not so far been found here, and very few pieces of medieval ware were found lying on the surface.

#### BĪR NA'ĀMAH

This site is about 8 miles west of Shaikh 'Uthmān and half a mile south-west of the modern well, after which I have named the site.

The site is extensive, and its boundaries difficult to define. It is fairly flat and there are no signs of buildings.

It is possible that this was a regular camping site on the route between Aden and the western area — Bāb al-Mandab or the Red Sea coastal region — but it also was a site used by fishermen, for many small flat stones with countersunk holes, weight for fishnets and lines, were found. Many large unbroken bowls, intact, and with rims exposed on the surface, were also noticed.

#### RAS MARSHAG Jabal Akhdar, Aden — (Late)

This is the site of a medieval fortress of the period of the Zurai'ids, who were the rulers of Aden in the 11th–12th centuries.

Although the site has not been extensively developed, there are still fragments of pottery and porcelain to be found.

Below Marshag, in the Holkat (Ḥuqqāt) Bay, were found many pottery fragments, some of local manufacture, some imported, also a sprinkling of the ubiquitous glass bracelets. The fragments found here are similar to those found on other medieval sites.

#### BĪR RUBĀK Ḥiswah — (Late)

The well of Bīr Rubāk is about a mile west of Ḥiswah north of the road to Little Aden. It is a medieval site and the name of the ruler of Aden in the 15th century, 'Abd al-Wahhāb b. Ṭāhīr, is linked with it.

Here there is a thin layer of surface fragments spread over a large area with a concentration south of the road.

#### KAWD AM-SAILAH Lahej — (Late)

This site, 300 metres across, is on a prominent mound in the Lahej plain, close to the al-Wādī al-Kabīr and 3 miles from Shaikh 'Uthmān on the track to al-Wahṭ. It has already been discussed in *JRAS.*, 1948.

This article describes the surface finds on the mound, which indicates that it was a glass manufacturing centre from the lumps of greenish glass frit, and the thick coverage of glass chips and fragments. Glazed pottery was also made there and I have found several bowls evidently discards.

Kawd am-Sailah may have been chosen as a factory site because it was close to the sea, was well-watered and surrounded by trees and vegetation, for fuel. This area was still comparatively well-wooded in 1839 when Captain Haines reported that from Laḥej to Bir Aḥmad and Ḥiswah was a dense jungle with the caution 'Beware of Robbers'. The denudation since this time is the result of the haphazard cutting down of trees for the fires of the rapidly growing town of Aden.

BİR NÂŞİR — (*Early*)

This site is south of Şubr, close to the Bir Nâşir water tower on the west side of the road from Laḥej to Aden. It is an extensive site, which appears about  $\frac{1}{2}$  mile across, consisting of a surface layer of pottery fragments, over the mounds similar to Şubr.

The pottery is similar to that of Şubr and design details observed are identical. It is probable the two sites are contemporary and further survey may show they are linked together.

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NOTE:

Since writing the above I have seen the article by Olga Tufnell "These were the potters . . . Notes on the craft in Southern Arabia". The Annual of Leeds University Oriental Society, Vol. II, Leiden 1961. The names of the modern pottery pieces included in this article are particularly useful.

I wish to thank Professor R. B. Serjeant and W. E. N. Kensdale for their help in the identification and spelling of place names.

# ON TRANSLATING MEDIEVAL HEBREW WRITING

By M. GERTNER

לרשי ענון מנחה

## 1

### *Poetry and prose*

THIS ESSAY is intended to appear in place of a review of two recent publications, one an English version of a famous work of medieval Hebrew poetry, published in this country, and the other a translation of a classic of the middle ages, a treatise in legal prose, issued in the United States. The first is Solomon Ibn Gabirol's (Avicbron's) great religious hymn *Kether Malkhuth, The Kingly Crown*,<sup>1</sup> the second is Maimonides' *Sepher Haphla'ah, The Book of Asseverations*,<sup>2</sup> the sixth of the fourteen sections of his halakhic code *Mishneh Torah, or Yad hazaqah*. The *Kether* was composed in the eleventh century in Arabic Spain and in the course of time became part of Jewish Synagogue liturgy; the *Yad* was compiled in the twelfth century in Egypt and soon came to be considered as the authoritative codification of Jewish religious law. Gabirol wrote his poem in the Hebrew idiom of the Bible, a style commonly employed by the poets of his era and area. Maimonides, dealing with talmudic law (and sources) used in his code the Hebrew diction of the post-biblical Mishnah, a literary innovation considering the fact that hitherto rabbinic works had been written in the Aramaic of the Talmud. His contemporary critics, therefore, occasionally also accused him of mistranslating (and halakhically misinterpreting) his Aramaic sources of the Talmud.<sup>3</sup>

These two works of translation, the hymn and the code, present excellent examples for a discussion on translation. For we have here two English renderings of two distinct literary categories, poetry and prose, and, at the same time, of two different Hebrew modes of expression, biblical and mishnaic. It will be seen that although the translator's problems where poetry is concerned are quite different from those confronting him in a work of prose; although the diverse

<sup>1</sup> Solomon Ibn Gabirol, *The Kingly Crown*, newly translated by Bernard Lewis, London, 1961.

<sup>2</sup> The Code of Maimonides, Book six, *The Book of Asseverations* translated by B. D. Klien, Yale University Press, New Haven, London, 1962.

<sup>3</sup> See RABAD's marginal remarks to *Mishneh Torah, Shabhuoth VI, 9*: "This author (i.e. Maimonides) made himself a translator from the language of the Talmud into Hebrew, and in different phrasing; but he erred in his rendering."



styles of the given Hebrew works may present their translators with special questions different in each case; one aspect, forming the central issue of the following considerations, an aspect exclusively specific to medieval Hebrew literature, is common to all kinds of literary production, verse or prose, ancient or later idiom. We know that regarding poetic writing what matters is metre and the form of verse, rhythm and the harmony of sound, rhyme and the interplay of vowel and consonants. These are obstacles and challenges to the translator. With prose, we equally know, obstacle and challenge consist of such matters as structure of sentence, precision of pronouncement, lucidity of description and, first and foremost, adequacy of expression. Where styles of various periods are concerned the translator may have to decide what diction of his own language would be the most adequate equivalent to that of the original. But the special aspect to be considered here is one feature of medieval Hebrew writing that, in addition to the problems just mentioned, confronts the translator with new difficulties and challenges, no matter whether his original is a work of poetry or of prose. This feature is the medieval Hebrew writer's heavy dependence on the scriptural text, for which the two works under review, the poetic as well as the halakhic, provide us with the best samples.

The Kether Malkhuth<sup>1</sup> (certainly due to its having very soon become part of the evening service of the Day of Atonement in the Spanish and Portuguese rite<sup>2</sup>) has been translated into many languages. Apart from the major European vernaculars there exist versions in Arabic (only in manuscript), Persian, Latin and Yiddish.<sup>3</sup> There are six renderings in English (complete or in part) and nearly as many in German. The first translation into a major European language was the Spanish version done by Rabbi I. Nieto (1702-1774), Haham, notary, and assessor of the Portuguese congregation in London.<sup>4</sup> The first English version, *The Royal Crown*,<sup>5</sup> was produced towards the end of the eighteenth century by the London-born

<sup>1</sup> For the expression see Esther ii, 17; there Kether Malkhuth is set upon the queen's head. But J. Klausner, *Pilosofim we-hogey deot*, Jerusalem, 1924 (Heb.), I, p. 157, quotes Pirquey R. Eliezer, XXIII, where the phrase is referred to God: כתר מלכות... יכתיירו לך

<sup>2</sup> Already in medieval manuscripts of the Maḥzor (prayers) for the Day of Atonement the song is to be found.

<sup>3</sup> See *Encycl. Judaica*, vii, p. 9; Latin, *Diadema Regni*, in *Poma Aurea*, F. Francisci Donati, Romae 1618; Yiddish, 1674, by Uri Phoebus; Persian, 1895, by Badadschan, Jerusalem; Arabic in Schocken manuscript, Jerusalem.

<sup>4</sup> *Corona de Reyno*, in: *Orden de Ros-Ashanah y kipur nuevamente traduzidas*... por Ishac Nieto, Londres 1740.

<sup>5</sup> According to AV, Est. ii, 17.

Hebraist (and shoemaker), author (and hatter), poet (and printer), David Levi (1742–1801).<sup>1</sup> Then followed *The Crown of Supreme Sovereignty*<sup>2</sup> by A. De Sola; *The Royal Crown* (again) by A. Lucas, M. Gaster, I. Zangwill,<sup>3</sup> and now *The Kingly Crown* by B. Lewis.<sup>4</sup> In German the first translation, *Krone des Königthums*, was made by L. Dukes.<sup>5</sup> Then followed the versions of L. Stein, J. Hirschfeld, S. Mayer and M. Sachs. They all called the poem *Königs Krone*.<sup>6</sup> In the same century also an Italian and a Dutch version appeared.<sup>7</sup> The first French version appeared in the eighteenth century.<sup>8</sup>

The first English rendering (of the first section, *Sepher Ha-Madda*) of Maimonides' *Mishneh Torah* was made in the seventeenth century by Ralph Skinner but has remained a manuscript in Trinity College Library, Dublin.<sup>9</sup> Two hundred years later three translations of (parts of) *Mishneh Torah* were published in England.<sup>10</sup> In this

<sup>1</sup> *The Order of the Form of Prayers . . . Day of Atonement*, according to the custom of the Spanish and Portuguese Jews, transl. by David Levi, vol. iii, second ed. London 1810. In *Jewish Encycl.* 1916, viii, p. 262, s.v. *Mahzor*, the year 1794 is given for the first ed. Cf. also *Jew Enc.* viii, p. 26 on D. Levi.

<sup>2</sup> A paraphrastic rendering of 'malkhuth' to emphasize its reference to God.

<sup>3</sup> *Forms of Prayer (Day of Atonement)* . . . transl. by D. A. De Sola, London, 1837; — *The Jewish Year*, a collection of devotional poems transl. by Alice Lucas, London 1898, p. 140 ff.; — *The Book of Prayer (Day of Atonement)* . . . English translation based principally on the work of De Sola by M. Gaster, Oxford University Press, 1934, p. 47 ff. (first edition 1901). I. Zangwill, 1923.

<sup>4</sup> Might Prof. Lewis have intended by this new phrasing to avoid the ring of an over-worked expression echoing from the word "royal" (for the contemporary reader)?

<sup>5</sup> *Ehrensäulen u. Denksteine v. Leopold Dukes*, Wien, 1837, p. 58 ff. ("die erste Übersetzung in hochdeutscher Sprache").

<sup>6</sup> *Königs Krone v. Salomon Ibn Gabirol*, Metrisch übersetzt v. Leopold Stein, Frankfurt a.M. 1838; *Königs Krone* . . . Mit möglichst treuer Übersetzung v. Joseph Hirschfeld, Berlin 1838; Sam. Mayer (in *Israel. Musenalmanach*) 1840; Michael Sachs, *Die religiöse Poesie d. Juden in Spanien*, Berlin 1845, pp. 1–29, *Die Königskrone*; cf. Luther's rendering of *Esther* ii, 17 — "königliche krone", but Torczymer, *Die Heilige Schrift*, Frankfurt a.M. 1937, "Königskrone".

<sup>7</sup> Italian by M. Bolaffi 1809; Dutch by G. Pollack 1839; cf. *Encycl. Jud.* vii, p. 9, s.v. *Gabirol*.

<sup>8</sup> *Prières des Jours du Rosch Haschanah et du Jour du kippur*, Nice 1773, by Mardochee Venture; see *Jewish Encycl.* xii, p. 417 and *Enc. Jud.* vii, p. 9.

<sup>9</sup> See Maimonides, *His Teachings and Personality*, ed. by S. Federbush, 1956, p. 146 (Heb.); cf. *Bibliography of Maimonides* by Joseph T. Gorfinkle, ed. by I. Epstein, London, 1935.

<sup>10</sup> *The Main Principles of the Creed and Ethics of the Jews . . . from Yad Hachazakah of Maimonides*, with literal English translation by Herman H. Bernard, Cambridge, 1832. James Peppercorne, *The Laws of the Hebrews relating to the Poor and the stranger from the Mishne Hatorah of the Rab. Maimonides*, London, 1840. Elias Soloweyczik, *Moses Maimonides, Yad-Hachazakah of Mishneh-Torah translated, edited and revised*, London, 1863.

century translations of M.T. began to be produced in America,<sup>1</sup> one of them being the Yale edition with one volume of which we are concerned in this paper. It is to be regretted that in this excellent edition two most important items are omitted, the critical remarks by Maimonides' French contemporary, Rab. Abraham ben David (RABaD), and the references to the talmudic sources of the Yad. For the scholar who has no access to the Hebrew commentaries on the code such references would immensely increase the value of the book.

The Kether hymn thematically falls into three major sections; the first (nine songs) praising the glory of God, the creator; the second (twenty-three songs) singing of the wonders of the universe, the creation; the third (eight songs) being a penitential psalm lamenting the moral condition of man, the creature.

The Sepher Haphla'ah is a halakhic codification of a religious-ethical theme in four casuistic variations. The theme is man's religious and moral obligation to honour his word and to fulfil his vows. The variations in question are the performance of oaths, a matter also concerning civil law; the keeping of vows and promises in general; the fulfilment of nazirite vows of personal abstentions; and, finally, the honouring of vows and promises of gifts to the Temple. In both biblical and talmudic teaching the sanctity of oaths and vows is emphatically stressed. The Talmud has four whole tractates dealing with these various kinds of asseverations (the tractates Shabbuoth, Nedariym, Naziyr, Arakhiyn). Thus, this volume of halakhic regulations in Maimonides' code may indeed be seen as a chapter in a system of ethical behaviour, precisely as the cosmological elaborations in Gabirol's hymn are also intended to condition man for a deeper religious experience. Incidentally, in the penitential parts of the poem we find also the theme of vows very emphatically stressed.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Joshua Glazer, *Book of Mishneh Torah with RABaD's criticism and references*, translated into English N.Y. 1927. The *Mishneh-Torah* by Maimonides, Book I, edited, with introduction, Biblical and Talmudical references, Notes and English translation by Moses Hyamson, N.Y. 1937. The *Mishneh-Torah*, Book II, with an English translation by M. Hyamson; the Talmudical references . . . by C. M. Brecher, N.Y. 1949.

<sup>2</sup> See Kether Malkuth xxxvi (defiled the utterance of my lips, וחלל מוצא שפתי and xxxvii (makes smooth his speech, is prodigal of vows ויחליק דבריו (יירבה נדריי) cf. Num. xxx, 3.

## II

*Literalness and literature*

The purpose and problem of translation are the twin starting-points of any discussion on translation. From them stem also the disparate schools of thought about the right methods of translation. The right methods are those by which the purpose of the translator can be best achieved and his problems most satisfactorily resolved. To achieve this there are two main methods; either that of "literalness" or that of "literature".<sup>1</sup>

The purpose (even the often irrational urge) of translation is communication; communication of information, thought, emotion and aesthetic pleasure, horizontally from area to area, and vertically, from era to era. The problem is the paradoxical notion of a faithful translation. A translator is under an obligation, both ethical and aesthetic, to be faithful, to translate faithfully.

But a faithful translation is a contradiction in terms. Firstly, because all translation is interpretation,<sup>2</sup> and interpretation is new creation; Isaiah's 'almah translated as virgin is a doctrinal interpretation, and rendered as young woman or maiden it constitutes an interpretation refuting that doctrine.<sup>3</sup> Secondly, because taste, style and spirit of two historical periods, two cultural parts of the world, and two creative persons are different and inimitable. Languages are metaphysically and psychologically distinct. It has been said that because of "the opposing metaphysics which govern the French and English language respectively — in English the word is extrovert, in French it is introvert, the structure of French . . . is Platonic while that of English . . . is . . . passionate Aristotelianism" — there has not yet been in France a translation of Shakespeare "which is both great literature and close to the original".<sup>4</sup>

*Literalness* means "close to the original", in expression, style, structure, rhyme, rhythm, metre and metaphor. *Literature*, "great literature", means a new, original creation in all matters of form and

<sup>1</sup> For these terms see R. A. Knox, *On English Translation*, Oxford, 1957, p. 14.

<sup>2</sup> ἐρμηνεύω, interpretari, tirkem (תִּרְגַּם) all stand both for translating and expounding. See Ezra iv, 7, methurgam (מֵתוּרְגָּם); LXX, ἐρμηνευμένης; AV, interpreted; RSV, translated; Luther, verdolmetscht; Rashiy, elucidated (מְפֹרֵשׁ); cf. M. Gertner, *Terms of scriptural interpretation*, Bull. School of Oriental and African Studies, XXV, I, 1962, p. 17.

<sup>3</sup> See Isa. vii, 1-4; AV, virgin; RSV, young Woman; Matt. i, 23; AV, virgin; Rieu, *The Four Gospels*, Penguin Classics, 1956, maiden.

<sup>4</sup> Yves Bonnefoy, *Shakespeare and the French poet*, Encounter, June 1962, pp. 40, 41, 42 and 38.

modes of speech. In the first case the translator is faithful to the original, its time, its author, its language; in the second, he is faithful to his version, his time, his language and to himself. But he cannot be faithful to both at the same time. This is the translator's dilemma.

His dilemma, of course, varies with the particular text in hand. His purpose may be the same when translating Plato or a Pravda article, a poetic work or a prosaic newspaper item. But his problems are different. Translating a newspaper rarely presents problems of form or phrasing. The journalistic jargon is inter-lingual, its style ready-made and its mode of speech, as it were, prefabricated. With a philosophical tract or a legal code form and formulation are essential. Principle and precept cannot be divorced from formula and definition. In a poem or a psalm manner and matter are an organic unity. "The peculiar effect of a poet resides in his manner",<sup>1</sup> and the manner "draws its force directly from the pregnancy of the matter".<sup>2</sup> Metre is the resonance of meaning and sound the echo of sense. A poetic metaphor is no mere rhetorical ornament, it is the artistic incarnation of an idea.<sup>3</sup>

The translator's problem then is, first, how far "literalness", i.e. an exact imitation of the original, is possible; second, even if such a transcript or photographic replica were possible, if it is desirable. Or should he rather attempt to create a new literary version of the original work, "literature" in his own style, form and spirit.

Both in principle and in practice there are two schools giving two opposing answers to these questions. One is for literature, the other for literalness.

The Talmud, concerned with interpretation, naturally rejects literalness. "He who translates a verse in its (literal) form is a forger (a 'liar')". M. Ibn Ezra, the twelfth-century Hebrew poet in Spain, in his dissertation on poetics advises the translator: "Take the (author's) idea and intention and do not translate word for word." In England Dryden praises a rendition that makes the original author speak "as he would . . . have written if he were living and an Englishman". Ezra Pound wants to see a translator "making it (the translated work) new", and R. A. Knox is decidedly for "putting literature first". E. V. Rieu, although admitting that "matter and

<sup>1</sup> Matthew Arnold, *On translating Homer*, Everyman's Library, 1909, p. 218.

<sup>2</sup> Ezra Pound, *Literary Essays*, Faber, p. 267.

<sup>3</sup> Hermann Cohen, *Asthetik*, I, p. 385: es ist falsch, dass die Metapher . . . nur ein rhetorischer Schmuck wäre.



manner are inseparably blended", considered it as his duty "to transform the original".<sup>1</sup>

Against these protagonists of "literature", there is the medieval French translator of Maimonides' Arabic works into Hebrew, S. Ibn Tibbon, who professes: "I avoid the expanding and beautifying phrase, lest I should alter the content intended by the author."<sup>2</sup> In Germany Goethe, in contrast to his own later practices of free re-workings ("parodistisch"), wanted the translator to come very close to the untranslatable ("bis ans Unübersetzliche"). His younger contemporary and translator of Plato, Schleiermacher, asks the translator to reflect in his version the alien nature of the alien original ("die Fremdheit des Fremden"), to render "with the particular idea also the particular mode of speech", even at the risk of his language becoming "harsh and rigid", or even "offensive".<sup>3</sup> In England, a century later, we hear F. W. Newman, translator of Homer's epics, demand that "the translator should retain every peculiarity of the original, with the great care the more foreign it may be", and his contemporary, R. Browning, translating Aeschylus thought the translator's duty "to be literal at every cost".<sup>4</sup> The greatest translator of medieval Hebrew poetry in this century, F. Rosenzweig, in the Nachwort to his German translation of the hymns of Yehudah Halevi, the Hebrew poet in twelfth-century Spain, requires (referring to F. Rückert's Makamen des Hariri as a model) complete imitation ("Nachahmung", "Nachbildung", in contradistinction to "Nachdichtung") of the original, in rhyme, rhythm, metre and metaphor. His intention, he says, was to "alienize" the German diction ("das Deutsche einzufremden") and "not to make the reader believe that Y. Halevi sang, in the German tongue". In one of his essays he most emphatically rejects the doctrine (held by E. Pound) of "making it new". A translation, to him, should not be "ein neues Original", no "embellishments" are

<sup>1</sup> Talmud Babil. Qiddushiyn, 49a; M. Ibn Ezra, Shirath Yisrael, p. 132, quoted by Schirmann, Molad, Tel Aviv, 140, 1960, p. 108; J. M. Cohen, English translators and translations, British Council, 1962, p. 20, quoting Dryden; W. W. Robson, New English Virgil, The Observer, 24.2.63, quoting Pound; Knox, op. cit. p. 14; E. V. Rieu, The Iliad, Penguin Classics, 1954, p. 18.

<sup>2</sup> See his introduction to the Guide for the Perplexed (Moreh Nebhukhiym) — ארחיק במליצה... להרחיב בה ולגאוחה... שלא אשנה

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Wolfgang Schadewaldt, Hellas u. Hesperion, 1960, pp. 526, 539 on Goethe; pp. 529, 537 on Schleiermacher.

<sup>4</sup> See M. Arnold op. cit. 272; J. M. Cohen, op. cit. pp. 20, 26.

permitted, "exactitude" and not "artistic" endeavours is what matters.<sup>1</sup>

Alongside the principle went the practice. Accepting the doctrine of "literature", i.e. acknowledging the supremacy of the new version, an ancient epic could be rendered in rhymed verse, the Homeric hexameter exchanged for the heroic couplet and Dante's terza rima for Milton's blank verse. A sonnet would be rendered in prose and non-metrical texts re-shaped in metre and rhyme.

The Elizabethan G. Chapman set Homer's songs in rhymed verse, and a century later A. Pope brought Augustan "order" into the Hellene's "wild paradise". H. F. Cary, Pope's contemporary, gave the *Commedia* a Miltonic metrical ring, and later in the century W. Cowper did the same to the *Iliad*.<sup>2</sup> Diderot in France rendered sonnets in prose and produced a "traduction libre" of Horace's satires.<sup>3</sup> This in spite of his awareness of the organic unity, between sound and sense in poetry ("la pensée la plus rare, sans l'harmonie qui lui convient, reste sans l'effet").<sup>4</sup>

"Literalness", in the sense understood here, has not often been aimed at in England. But we have hexameter renderings of Homer, terza-rima versions of Dante and, to take another example, a close "imitation of the accentual measures and the alliteration" in a modern re-casting of the *Beowulf*.<sup>5</sup>

The translators of medieval Hebrew poetry have, as a whole, always been practising "literature". Metre, rhyme and metaphor have been either transformed or omitted, lines and syllables increased or diminished. An exception (before F. Rosenzweig) was S. Heller, of whose anthology of medieval poets in German translation it has been metaphorically said that in it the problem of colour photography ("Photographie in Farben") has been successfully solved; because in his renditions "the finest shades of colours (of the original) have been wonderfully preserved".<sup>6</sup> But Rosenzweig, acknowledging Heller as a precursor,<sup>7</sup> is the only translator who

<sup>1</sup> Franz Rosenzweig, *Sechzig Hymnen u. Gedichte des Jehuda Halevi*, pp. 112, 111, 108, 107; Martin Buber u. F. Rosenzweig, *Die Schrift u. Ihre Verdeutschung*, 1936, pp. 89, 121, 114.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. M. Arnold, op. cit. 239, 256; Knox, op. cit. 20; J. M. Cohen, 21.

<sup>3</sup> *Œuvres complètes de Diderot*, 1875, IX, p. 70: Traduction d'un Sonnet; p. 42: Traduction Libre . . . de la première Satire d'Horace.

<sup>4</sup> Diderot op. cit. VI, p. 425.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. J. M. Cohen op. cit. pp. 24, 46, 23, 25.

<sup>6</sup> S. Heller, *Die echten Hebräischen Melodien*, 1893, p. XI (Introduction by David Kaufmann).

<sup>7</sup> F. Rosenzweig, *Sechzig Hymnen . . . des J. Halevi*, p. 111.

truly achieved the impossible. He, utterly submitting to the sovereignty of the original, very successfully and (often) very beautifully reproduced all the poetic characteristics and prosodic qualities of the original, its metres and metaphors, its rhymes and rhythms, and (of course) the number of its verse' lines and syllables.

### III

#### *Metre and metaphor*

Four versions, two English and two German, of two lines from Yehudah Halevi's famous hymn to Zion may serve here as an illustration both regarding melody and metre as well as metaphor and meaning.

The poet, addressing the desolate Zion as a symbol of the captive Israel says (literally):

To mourn thy sorrow, I am a jackal; and when I dream  
Of thy captives' return, I am a harp for thy songs.<sup>1</sup>

The two lines tell us of the poet's two actions, his mourning and dreaming, of Zion's sorrow and her captives' return; they, in addition, contain two most relevant metaphorical images, meaningfully related to the poet's mourning and dreaming. They are the images of the jackal and the harp, both laden with emotive scriptural associations. The prophet, envisaging Israel's captivity, likens himself to a jackal: "I will make lamentations like a jackal"; and the psalmist, narrating the moving episode of the captives by the rivers of Babylon, tells us of harps used for singing the "songs of Zion". The psalmist also tells us of the joyous "singing" at the "dreamlike" event when "the Lord turned again the captivity of Zion".<sup>2</sup> The medieval poet identified himself with his biblical predecessors. He mourns with the prophet and dreams with the psalmist. More, he intensified the emotive force of the biblical images. He is not like a jackal, he is a jackal; he does not play the harp, he is the harp. The images as well as the actions, their scriptural association and historical reminiscence, together with the poet's self-identification with the images and their authors, the seer and the singer, are essential qualities of the poem. They heighten its spiritual significance and deepen its sentimental qualities. Without them the poetic effect of this great elegy would be much weaker.

<sup>1</sup> See H. Shirmann, Hashiyrah Haibhrith be-Sepharad 1954, I, p. 486.  
לבכות ענותך אני תנים, ועת אחלום שיבת שבותך אני כנור לשירך

<sup>2</sup> Micah i, 8; Ps. cxxxvii, 1-3; cxxvi, 1-2.

A translation failing to transmit in the new version these organically built-in elements of the original work cannot be considered as faithful. Indeed, it must be seen as a failure.

What has been said about the deeper associational meaning of the metaphors equally applies to the sombre tone of the metre and its gloomy mood. The elegiac effect of the song is the echo of its metrical melody, of the alternating number of fourteen and thirteen syllables in each pair of lines, and of the monotonous, wailing (feminine) rhyme endings.<sup>1</sup> Any alteration in metre, rhyme and number of syllables, resulting in a transformation of these musical qualities of the poem, has therefore to be thought of as unfaithful and failing.

One English version has transformed this unrhymed two-line verse into a stanza of four iambic and alternately rhyming lines:

Harsh is my voice, when I bewail thy woes,  
But when in fancy's dream  
I see thy freedom, forth its cadence flows,  
Sweet as the harps that hung by Babel's stream.<sup>2</sup>

Rhyme and metrical structure are altered, one of the images, the jackal, dropped; the other, the harp, stripped of its main characteristic, the poet's self-identification, and, instead, turned into a simile (in plural) bringing the poet's hidden illusion to the psalmist's harps hung by the Babylonian streams openly into the verse. The associational poetic tension between poem and psalm thus, paradoxically, being lessened by explicit verbal citation. New nouns, adjectives and figurative expressions are introduced, the "fancy", the "harsh" and "sweet" voice and its "flowing cadence". The concrete biblical picture of the "returning captives" is here replaced by the abstract "freedom".<sup>3</sup> Finally, the number of twenty-seven syllables is increased to thirty-six.

Another English version has only three five-foot iambic lines:

To weep thy woe my cry is waxen strong:—  
But dreaming of thine own restored anew  
I am a harp to sound for thee thy song.<sup>4</sup>

Here again rhyme and metre are changed, one image, the jackal, is paraphrased by the description of the cry as "waxen strong", and

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Rosenzweig. J. Halevi, p. 172.

<sup>2</sup> A. Lucas, *The Jewish Year*, pp. 129, 30.

<sup>3</sup> LXX, Vulg. Ps. cxxvi, 4 and Talmud Babl. Ta'anith 8b have "captives" returning with the "ingathering of the exiles"; but RSV, "restore our fortunes", and Knox, "deliver us from our bondage", equally have abstract formulations.

<sup>4</sup> *Songs of Exile*, translated by Nina Davis, 1901, p. 38.

the active drama of the "returning captives" emasculated into the passive scene of "thine own restored". The number of syllables is still greater (thirty) than that of the original, and one verb, "to sound", is added.

S. Heller's German version of these two Hebrew lines has been, as he confessed to his editor, his last choice of ten different attempts. He prided himself that he had succeeded in rendering this "most intractable of all verses" without the slightest re-interpretation ("nicht das Geringste umgedeutet").<sup>1</sup> His verse reads:

Mich Schakal deines Leids macht Hoffnungstraum  
Zur Harf' in ew'gem Jubelfestgedicht.<sup>2</sup>

The original's rhyme system is retained throughout the whole poem; but the feminine endings have been changed to masculine. The two images, jackal and harp, and the poet's self-identification with them, have been preserved; but their allusive force is greatly weakened by the omission of the two verbs, the prophets mourning and the psalmist's dreaming. Here hope "makes" a harp of him who is a jackal. There is no voluntary action on the poet's side. An atmosphere of passivity covers his attitude. The poem's medieval metre has been re-moulded into the iambic pentameter employed in the German classical poetry, so that the elegiac fourteen-and-thirteen-syllable lines have been shortened to a double line of ten syllables each. The biblical "returning captives" are here reduced to a euphemistic "Hoffnung", and the compact intensity of "songs" inflated by the descriptive composite "Jubelfestgedicht". The adjective "ewig" is an addition.

F. Rosenzweig's verse reads:

Wein ich dein Leid, Shakal werd ich; träum ich Dich fronbefreit,  
Bin ich die Harfe, zu Deinen Liedern zu schlagen.<sup>3</sup>

Here rhyme and rhythm, mood and metaphor are skilfully preserved, the metrical structure as far as possible adapted to echo the old metre's ring.<sup>4</sup> The lines read like a literal translation. The rhyme endings are feminine; even the occasional inner rhyme ('enuthekhshebhuthekh) has been imitated (Leid-befreit). There is no reduction of the concepts' intensity and no descriptive inflation. The poet's active attitude is pronounced, as in the original; he mourns and

<sup>1</sup> Heller, op. cit., Introduction (Kaufmann) p. XIV.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. p. 144.

<sup>3</sup> Rosenzweig, J. Halevi, p. 102.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid. p. 112.



dreams like his biblical models. Of course, even here we find slight deviations from the Hebrew. The verb "schlagen" is added because of the rhyme. Zion's "returning captives" are, here too, replaced by her being "fronbefreit". But apart from these minor points this is an excellent example of the successfully applied method of "literalness", preserving suggestive allusion and pregnant association ring of rhyme and mood of metre, intensity of image and meaning of metaphor.

The divergent principles of "literalness" and "literature" have always affected the translator's approach to the metaphor. Here we saw this illustrated by the various treatments of jackal and harp. Martin Luther, who in general preferred the method of "literature" (letting "die Hebräischen Worte fahren", speaking "frei den Sinn heraus" and scorning the literalists as "Buchstabilisten")<sup>1</sup> equally favoured the non-literal rendering of metaphors. When AV, like all the older versions, has the psalmist say: "My soul shall be satisfied as with marrow and fatness" ("helebh wa-deshen"), Luther rephrases the physical "marrow and fatness" by "Freude und Wonne".<sup>2</sup> Similarly, when AV, and all the others, have Jesus say: "of the abundance of the heart the mouth speaketh" (ex abundatia cordis os loquitur), Luther, maintaining that "Überfluss" here "ist kein Deutsch", reshapes the sentence into a proverbial saying: "Wes das Herz voll ist . . ."<sup>3</sup> The clearly visible moving picture of the heart's "overflowing" is replaced by the rather hazy and static description of its being "full". But when doctrine was involved even Luther practised literalness ("stracks den Worten nach gedol-metscht"). The psalmist's statement, cited by Paul with reference to Jesus, "Thou hast led captivity captive", he rendered literally ("das Gefängnis gefangen"), because this expresses the Pauline doctrine of Christ having "captured captivity", i.e. nullified the strength of the law, death and sin.<sup>4</sup>

What doctrinal interpretation is to Luther, scriptural association is to Rosenzweig.<sup>5</sup> Jackal and harp link the poem with the Bible;

<sup>1</sup> Martin Luther, Vorrede z. Deutschen Psalter, quoted by Rosenzweig in *Die Schrift u. ihre Verdeutschung*, p. 94; Luther, *Ein Sendbrief vom Dol-metschen*, cf. Kurt Aland, *Luther's Deutsch*, 5, p. 74.

<sup>2</sup> Ps. lxiii, 6.

<sup>3</sup> Matth. xii, 34; Luther, *Ein Sendbrief*, p. 73.

<sup>4</sup> Buber-Rosenzweig, *Die Schrift u. ihre Verdeutschung*, pp. 91, 92; Ps. lxxviii, 19; Eph. iv, 8; Talmud Babl. Shabbath 89a refers the verse to Moses.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Rosenzweig, J. Halevi, p. 115 on biblical quotations, the translator "darf nicht den Anspielungsgehalt der Sprache unterdrücken". See M. Gertner, *Midrashim in the New Testament*. *Journal of Semitic Studies* VII, 2, 1962, p. 282

they associate the poet with his biblical precursors. These links and associations are lost in a non-literal translation. This leads us to Gabirol's Kether hymn and its biblical associations.

The various translations of the Kether show a great variety of approaches. Most translators rendered the rhymed poem in plain prose. Others altered its rhyme system and introduced into this non-metrical song a European metrical structure; with the assumption of "making it new" ("neu entstehen zu lassen"), or with the intention of ridding Gabirol "of his last fetters" (i.e. the rhyme) and to "bring back his poem to a truer Hebraism".<sup>1</sup>

Yet apart from metre and rhyme there is here an additional feature, characteristic of all medieval poetry, which presents the translator with similar problems to those discussed above. It is the feature of scriptural citations. From Y. Halevi's Zion verse we have learned how very relevant even the mere biblical association of concepts or images can be for an understanding of the work and its proper rendering, the more so when full and direct quotations form part of a verse or a poem. These quotations, it will be seen, have been disparately treated by the various translators. The following discussion will prove that this disparity is also principally rooted in the divergence of the two schools of literalness or literature. But here we shall still add one example from the Kether, with particular regard to a metaphor with biblical associations and its different treatment by the many translators of the poem.

Gabirol prefaced his hymn with a three-line stanza, metrical and rhymed. In it he indicates the three themes of the whole work: God, the "living"; his "wonders", i.e. the world; and man, who "in it will learn righteousness". He says, in the last line, that he put his song at (literally: "on") the "head" of his "praises" and called it "crown".<sup>2</sup> This is taken as evidence that he considered this work to be the crowning achievement of all his poetic endeavours.<sup>3</sup>

about Luke i, 77, where The New English Bible version "lead his people to salvation" instead of the original's "to give knowledge of salvation" misses the "Anspielungsgehalt" of the phrase, referring to John, in Hebrew Yoḥanan, God granted, or "gave".

<sup>1</sup> Prose: Donati, Nieto, D. Levi, De Sola, Gaster, Zangwill, Lewis, Hirschfeld; M. Sachs: Rhymed prose; metrical and rhymed: A. Lucas, L. Stein (see p. XXXIV, XXXVIII, "Deutsches Metrum"); cf. Zangwill p. L: "to translate him into bare prose seems to me the only licence permissible"; p. LII: "if I rid him of his last fetters, I bring back his poem to a truer Hebraism".

<sup>2</sup> Zangwill, S. Ibn Gabirol, p. 82 שְׁמִתִּיהָ עַל רֹאשׁ מְהֻלָּלִי.

<sup>3</sup> Zangwill, p. XXXVI (J. Davindson's introduction); Dukes, Ehrensäulen, p. 16: "An die Spitze seiner Gedichte . . . stellen, wie es der Verfasser selbst in dem kleinen Vorworte thut."

Gabirol's Hebrew phrase "ro'sh mahlalay", on the head of my praises, is a new coinage. It is an imitation of the psalmist's "al ro'sh simhathiy",<sup>1</sup> on the head of my joy. There "ro'sh" is clearly a metaphor. The older versions, Greek and Latin, render "al ro'sh" by "in the beginning"; AV has "above my chief joy"; Buber, like Rosenzweig of the literalness school, translates "*übers Haupt . . .*". But Gabirol here certainly intended "ro'sh" to stand for "head" (of all his poetic work) on which the crown (the Kether song) is to be put. The word is still a metaphor, but the picture it places before us is that of a real head. A translator who does not here render ro'sh by head is destroying the poet's play on the word; and a paraphrastic rendition like Zangwill's "Nachdichtung" even deprives us of the poets testimony regarding the hymn. His version only states: Of all my hymns behold The Royal Crown. Professor Lewis has adequately: "at the head of . . ." So already has De Sola; while D. Levi writes: "I have given it precedence." Of the Germans only L. Stein (who in his paraphrastic version preserved rhyme and number of syllables and tried to imitate the metre) has "auf meiner Lobgesänge Haupt". L. Dukes has "an die Spitze"; so also has Hirschfeld. M. Sachs, also in a metrical and rhymed version, has "meiner Lieder Ausbund" (paragon or model). The Latin version reads, paraphrastically, praeposui eam omnibus Hymnis meas, and I. Nieto has: La estima por la principal de mis canciones.

This little introductory poem could provide a most telling illustration of the disparate approaches and techniques adopted by modern translators of medieval poetry, from all the aspects in question; metre and metaphor, rhyme and prose, paraphrase and precision.<sup>2</sup> But specific aspects regarding the Kether, and involving scriptural citations have to take precedence.

#### IV

#### *Song and scripture*

In this chapter we shall mainly consider the translator's confrontation with actual quotations, direct or paraphrased, and not, as in the preceding discussion, biblical ingredients of a merely associational nature. The open citation or veiled paraphrase of a biblical text built into a poem will prove to confront the translator

<sup>1</sup> Ps. cxxxvii, 6.

<sup>2</sup> Stein, Sachs and Zangwill translated this little metrical poem in metrical form. The others rendered it in prose.

with technical and principal problems similar to those of metre and rhyme.

The quotation, and the biblical element in general, is a very familiar phenomenon in medieval Hebrew poetry. But the evaluation of its poetic significance and its rôle in the structure of the poem has been most diverse.

For many centuries past the biblical writings had been the basis and focal point of Jewish thinking and literary production. Midrash, scriptural interpretation, was the mainspring of life, spiritual, social and national. Law and liturgy grew out of it, legend and learning centred around it. The golden era of Hebrew in Arabic Spain brought a change of mood and manner in the field of creative activity. A great period of poetic productivity began. But the Bible still remained the life-giving source of all writing. Hebrew was, after all, no longer a spoken language. Poetry and literature of any kind had to feed on the scriptural sources. Hence the incomparable rôle of the biblical element in medieval Hebrew writing. In no other literature do we have a similar dependence on idiom and idea drawn from an ancient source. Even the Qoran has never occupied such a place in Arabic poetry.<sup>1</sup>

The biblical element in a poem can, like metre and rhyme, take on a great variety of shapes and forms. There is the scriptural phrase appearing anywhere in the context of a poetic composition, forming part of a line, a stanza or an image. There is the citation standing as a motto at the head of a poem, and the citation standing as a finale at the end of it. We have direct quotations and reshaped paraphrases, biblical expressions and metaphors employed in their original form or only alluded to by a notional implication or a play on words.<sup>2</sup>

Most critics tend to consider the biblical phrase in a poem as a mere stylistic ornament. But some others have realized the deeper significance often attached to citations. The Portuguese philosopher and author of a treatise on Hebrew poetics in the thirteenth century,

<sup>1</sup> Although according to M. Ibn Ezra, *Shiyraṭ Yisra'el*, p. 205, the Hebrew poets learned this technique from the Arabs; cf. David Yelin, *Torath Ha-shiyrah Ha-Sep̄haradith*, Jerusalem, 1940, p. 119.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Selected Poems of Moses Ibn Ezra*, translated by S. Solis-Cohen, Schiff Library of Jewish Classics, 1945, p. 81 where the Hebrew רִיק יַעֲלֶה חֵן לְבִי וְשֶׁרֶף כְּבֹרֶד הַשֵּׁק is rendered: "The kisses of the beautiful one are sharp as hail, as the hail of Egypt, filled with fire." Egypt is not mentioned in the Hebrew original, but burning hail is known from the Egyptian plagues, see Ex. ix, 24; the translator sensed this and instead of a literal rendering he preferred an expository paraphrase.

David Ibn Bilia, defines them as "elegancy"; the fourteenth-century French philosopher and grammarian, Profiat Duran (Efodi), calls them "adornment", used by poets "to adorn and ornament" their composition. So do many modern scholars.<sup>1</sup> But a subtler critical definition of the scriptural quotation is given by Yehudah Alharizi, the Spanish poet and translator (of Hariri's Maḳamat) in the early thirteenth century. In his Taḥkemoniy, a composition of original Hebrew Maḳamat abounding in biblical quotations, he formulates the poetic rôle of such cited verses: "to take . . . a verse and to build upon it a delightful theme".<sup>2</sup>

This is the most adequate description of the type of quotation we have in the Kether. In this hymn the "finale"-citations are not "the climax up to which the whole stanza was built";<sup>3</sup> they are rather the basis upon which the poem's units were built. The Kether unit is not always an autonomously conceived poetic theme moving by its own strength towards the climactic verse. It is often a poetic theme originating in the (new) interpretation of a scriptural text and growing by force of the principal idea towards its foundation. The poet, starting his structure, as it were, with the top floor first and proceeding to build downwards up to the basis, thus veils the fact that this basis was his actual starting-point. The examples discussed below will prove this.

Of the modern translators, F. Rosenzweig is the one who emphasizes the great significance of the scriptural quotation in medieval Hebrew poetry, and the great responsibility of the translator towards them. Speaking of all types of citations, he says that they are "by no means an ornamental appendage", but rather the "coined form (geprägte Form)" of the poet's ideas, "the paper slip for enveloping his speech". The translator, therefore, must not suppress the allusive nature ("Anspielungsgehalt") of the language employed by the poet.<sup>4</sup>

The fact that many quotations in the Kether are, first, an organic part of the poem's existence, of its soul as well as of its structure, and, second, that they appear there in a new interpretation, as will

<sup>1</sup> See L. Dukes Schire Schlomo II. Heft, 1858, p. 79 על־דֶּרֶךְ צִחוֹת; p. 78 פֶּאֶר, שִׁפְאוֹרוֹהוּ וִיחֶרְרוֹהוּ; cf. Zangwill, op. cit. p. liii, "delight", "pleasure"; Dukes, Ehrensäulen, p. 14, "Ein solcher Vers war der Diamant, welcher die ganze Fassung überstrahlt".

<sup>2</sup> Taḥkemoniy, chapt. IX, לִקְחַת מִסְפְּרֵי הַנְּבִיאִים פֶּסוּק וּלְבִנוֹת עָלָיו עֵינִי נִחְמַד וְחִשּׁוֹק

<sup>3</sup> Zangwill, op. cit. liii.

<sup>4</sup> Rosenzweig, J. Halevi, p. 115; see here p. 174, n. 5.



be seen below, confronts the translator with a new shade of the problem of double loyalty. To be faithful to the poem's notion and the poet's interpretation, and to the literary requirements of his own version, he often has to integrate the cited text into the body of the poem and to destroy its biblical identity. To be faithful to the poem's original shape and structure he must delineate with sharp precision the contour of the citation and display its biblical origin. In the first case he must practise literature; in the second he has to adopt literalness. The various translators of the Kether have, indeed, dealt also with this problem disparately. Some adopted the method of assimilating integration, their translation "swallowing" the quotation so that, as with Pharaoh's cows, "it could not be known" that it was absorbed. Others preserved the quoted verse in its original form.

But even the preservation of the original citation may sometimes not be without its problems. If a scriptural verse is presented by the translator in one of the existing translations, as has mostly been done,<sup>1</sup> serious misunderstandings or even grave errors can result. For the context of a poem, and the poet's new interpretation of the cited verse, may often require a new translation of this verse.

## V

### *Divine force and diabolic foe*

As one illustration for a scriptural citation constituting the foundation "stone" on which an entire unit of a poem is "built" we choose here the sixth chapter of the Kether: 'Attah gibbor, Thou art mighty. Of the nine first chapters singing about God and his attributes the sixth praises the divine force and might; he is *gibbor*, mighty, and his is *gebhurah*, might.

In the Bible this divine attribute appears in connection with God's mighty deeds in fighting and punishing his and Israel's enemies. He is "mighty in battle"; "he ruleth by his power for ever", as when "he turned the sea into dry land".<sup>2</sup> But in Gabirol's hymn God's might is, in accordance with Midrash,<sup>3</sup> interpreted as mercy.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Zangwill, p. lii.

<sup>2</sup> Ps. xxiv, 8; lxvi, 6, 7; cf. also Isa. xlii, 13; Zeph. iii, 17.

<sup>3</sup> Babl. Giṭṭiyn 56b, on Ex. xv, 11; Yoma 69b, on Deut. x, 17; Siphre Num. 134, Friedmann, p. 50b, on Deut. iii, 24; Mekhilta Beshallah V. Friedman, p. 38b, on Ex. xv, 6.

He sings:

Thou art mighty, and there is none among all Thy creatures that can equal Thy works and Thy mighty deeds.

Thou art mighty, and Thine is the perfect might that knows neither change nor vicissitude.

Thou art mighty, and from the greatness of Thy power Thou forgivest in the moment of Thy wrath and softenest Thine anger for sinners.

Thou art mighty, and Thy pity covers all Thy creatures — it is the mighty one which was of old.<sup>1</sup>

From five scriptural sources did Gabirol draw to shape his four stanzas. In the first two there are literally cited phrases; in the third there are two paraphrastic references, and in the last we have one paraphrase and one full quotation.

Moses, in his Deuteronomy supplication, said: "What god is there . . . that can equal Thy works and Thy mighty deeds."<sup>2</sup> Gabirol, no longer concerned with pagan gods, exchanged the phrase "what god is there" for "none among all thy creatures". David, in his last oration, said: "Thine is the . . . power."<sup>3</sup> Gabirol, as a medieval philosopher, adds an important qualification to this: Thine is the "perfect" might that knows no "change" . . . Again, Moses in his Exodus song, exalting God's "right hand, glorious in power", sang: "In the greatness of Thy power Thou destroyest" (Thy adversaries).<sup>4</sup> Gabirol, almost with ironic allusion, paraphrases the biblical verse antithetically: "From the greatness of Thy power Thou forgivest . . ." The psalmist, in a late psalm for the first time in scripture connecting God's "might" with his universal mercy, sang: "The Lord is merciful, softening his anger, his pity covers all that he has made."<sup>5</sup> Gabirol adopts the psalmist's universalism (in the last stanza): "Thy pity covers all . . . creatures"; and (in the third stanza) he formulates the view, suggested by the psalmist and clearly stated by Midrash, that God is mighty by softening his anger, 'erekh 'appayim.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> B. Lewis, *The Kingly Crown*, p. 30.

<sup>2</sup> Deut. iii, 24.

<sup>3</sup> I Chr. xxix, 11.

<sup>4</sup> Ex. xv, 6, 7.

<sup>5</sup> Ps. cxlv, 9, 11, 12; cf. also Isa. lxiii, 15.

<sup>6</sup> Babl. Yoma 69b; the concept "gabhar", to be mighty, never occurs in the OT in relation with "rahamiym", mercy, but we find it connected with its synonym "hesed", see Ps. cxvii, 2; in talmudic language we have the concept of "kabhash", subdue, connected both with "gibbor", a mighty or strong character (Aboth iv, 1: "who is mighty? he who subdues his passion"), and with "rahamiym" (Babl. Berakhoth 7a, where, paradoxically, God himself prays: "may it be my will that my mercy may subdue my anger").

The last line is a full quotation from that famous Genesis story of the mythical *gibboriym*, the "children" of the "sons of God": "They are the mighty which were of old."<sup>1</sup> Gabirol interprets "gibboriym", the mighty, as God's forces of mercy, the emanation of his will, the "angels" or "mighty of strength (*gibborey ko'ah*) who do his word", as the psalmist tells us.<sup>2</sup> We have here, first, a personification of God's mercies, which we find also elsewhere in this poem;<sup>3</sup> they are the *gibboriym*, the giants. Second, we have here an allegorization of the mythical progenies of the sons of God in the creation story, an exegetical method known to have been adopted by Gabirol.<sup>4</sup> The whole poem is a mosaic-like composition combined of masterly blended phrases, paraphrases and verses taken from the songs of Moses, David and the psalmist. The theology expressed in this poem originates in the psalmistic and, particularly, midrashic new understanding of God's might as mercy. Yet the basis of the whole poetic edifice is a re-interpreted Genesis quotation. Hymnic poetry, philosophical theology and allegorical exegesis are excellently fused in this 'Attah-gibbor poem; this name, incidentally, also being a most subtle allusion to an old prayer carrying the same name and also conceiving of might as mercy: "'Attah gibbor le-'olam", says the liturgical text, "Thou art mighty for ever . . . with great mercy".<sup>5</sup> All this is not merely ornamentally concluded by the last quotation. This quotation is the basis and the root of it all. The poem, it may paradoxically be said, begins with this quotation.

A perfect translation would of course be that which, on the one hand, made all these scriptural ingredients visible in, and lucent from, the poem's texture; and, on the other, produced a poetic composition as well-built and amalgamated as the original. The various renditions of the poem, especially of its last quotation show the variety of ways gone by the many translators. Those who adopted

<sup>1</sup> Gen. vi, 4.

<sup>2</sup> Ps. ciii, 20; cf. Kether chapter XXV, Lewis p. 45: "They are the messengers of Thy will . . . They are majestic in strength, mighty in dominion."

<sup>3</sup> Kether chapter XXXVI, God's "mercies" as "company" fighting against man's "enemy", the *yeşer hara'*.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. W. Bacher, *Die Bibalexegese der Jüdischen Religionsphilosophen d. Mittelalters*, 1882, pp. 45-55; D. Kaufmann: *Studien über S. Ibn Gabriel*, 1899 (Hebrew: *Mehqariym*, Mosad Kook, 1962, pp. 126-35); Julius Guttman: *Zu Gabirol's allegorischer Deutung d. Erzählung vom Paradies*, MGWJ, 80, 1936, pp. 181 ff.

<sup>5</sup> See Singer's Prayer Book, Morning Service, Second of the Eighteen Benedictions; cf. Gen. Rab. xiii, 4, on Gen. ii, 5; see also J. Elbogen, *Der Jüdische Gottesdienst*, second ed. 1924, p. 44.

the method of complete integration have the cited text "swallowed" by the poem, and its structural and exegetical significance is therefore entirely lost; the poet's poetic exploits can no longer be seen. Others, in English, particularly B. Lewis, tried to preserve the original shape of the citation.

D. Levi's version reads:<sup>1</sup> "Thou are mighty, and thy mercy extendeth unto all thy creatures: such are the effects of thy might which have existed from eternity." He renders, the plural "raḥameykha" (of the first line) by, the singular, "mercy";<sup>2</sup> he could not continue (in the second line) with the literal translation of the quotation: "hemmah ha-gibboriym", These are the mighty... and he, instead, expounds the cited text: "Such are the effects of thy might." Explanation and addition destroy the citation. De Sola (who was aware of the "peculiar charm" of the "scriptural texts and allusions", "being susceptible of an ambiguous meaning")<sup>3</sup> took over Levi's rendering into his version. Nieto's Spanish version omits the word gibboriym altogether from the citation: "Y tu misericordia... la qual existe ab eterno." M. Sachs, equally omitting it, has: "dein Erbarmen... es ist unendlich von jeher gewesen." Hirschfeld, completely effacing the quotational nature of the text merges the two lines: "dein Erbarmen, das mächtigste, was je vorhanden war, waltet über deine Geschöpfe." Dukes has: "deine Barmherzigkeit", in singular, but continues, inconsistently, with the quotation in plural: "diese sind die Heldenthaten, die von jeher bestehen." He renders the personal "gibboriym", the giants or heroes (Helden), the basis of Gabirol's personification, as "gebhuroth", mighty deeds, an impersonal concept. This is, even poetically, bad integration.

It is worthwhile mentioning here that Dukes, discussing Gabirol's quotation techniques, picked out just this cited verse to show that the poet sometimes quotes such a verse "merely because it is a scriptural text", even "at the cost of lucidity and contextual coherence". He then adds the startling statement that here the poet himself did not quite comprehend his text ("klar... ist diese Stelle dem Dichter selbst nicht geworden").<sup>4</sup> But surely Dukes neither

<sup>1</sup> The Hebrew text reads: אתה גבור ורחמך על כל ברואיך כלם, המה הגבורים אשר מעולם

<sup>2</sup> See Ps. cxl, 9; LXX, Vulg. and AV, "mercies"; cf. also Lewis chap. XXXVI, "company of Thy mercies".

<sup>3</sup> Cf. De Sola, p. 39.

<sup>4</sup> Dukes, Ehrensäulen, p. 14.

saw the deeper implications, exegetical and structural, of this citation, nor did he realize that this is but part of a comprehensive system of blending poetry with interpretation employed by the poet in all parts of this hymn.

I. Zangwill took over Dukes' "Heldenthaten" and translated: "These are the mighty deeds" (gibboriym) . . . But he at least has in the first line "Thy mercies", in plural. Gaster, on the other hand, has "mercy", in singular, but nevertheless continues, in plural, "These are the mighty deeds", being stylistically as inconsistent as Dukes. B. Lewis has for the plural, "raḥameykha" Thy pity, in singular. Because of this, he found it necessary slightly to alter the otherwise correctly quoted text: "it (the pity) is the mighty one", instead of: "they (the mercies) are the mighty ones." Donati's Latin version is the most literal: "Isti sunt potestates qui a saeculo." Fairly literal is also L. Stein's German, metrical, rendition: "dein' Erbarmungen umfassen deine Welten, Das sind die ew'gen Helden."

This exemplification is best concluded by the only English metrical rendition of the poem by A. Lucas:<sup>1</sup>

Thou art mighty, and of all Thy works  
There is none whose power to Thine comes nigh.  
Thou art mighty, and Thy boundless power  
Makes Thee pardon, even in the hour  
Of Thy wrath, man's sore iniquity.

The second and the fourth stanzas are here omitted, and with them the last constitutive citation.

Similar illustrative exemplifications could be made with the concluding quotations of other units of this hymn. The final quotation, for instance, of the fourth chapter, "and eat and live for ever",<sup>2</sup> would show a parallel constitutive nature in which an allegorical interpretation of another verse of the creation story, concerning the tree of life, was made by Gabirol the basis of a unit in his hymn. So would the final lines of many other chapters. But here we shall rather proceed to the second part of our heading, "diabolic foe".

The "diabolic foe" is yeṣer-hara', man's evil tempter, as against the "divine force", raḥamiym, God's mighty power of compassion. According to Gabirol's theology in the chapter to be discussed now the ultimate "help" man can resort to in his struggle with his deadly "enemy", the "yeṣer", is the "maḥaneh" of these "raḥamiym", the "company" of God's "mercies". In the last two stanzas of his

<sup>1</sup> A. Lucas, p. 142.

<sup>2</sup> Gen. iii, 22.



yeşer-hara' song (in the section dealing with man) the thirty-sixth chapter of the hymn, Gabirol says:<sup>1</sup>

For he prevailed over me, and scattered my warriors, and nothing remained to me but the company of Thy mercies.  
But I know that with them I shall conquer him; they shall be my succour *against the foe*; peradventure I shall prevail, that we may smite *him* and that I may drive *him* out.

The last stanza contains two allegorically interpreted citations. One, slightly rephrased, is taken from David's fight with his son Absalom, the other is literally quoted from the report about Balaq, king of Moab, and his war against Israel.<sup>2</sup> This last quotation is the constitutive basis of the poem, carrying it and its principal theme by strength of the similarity of the two wars: man's war against his yeşer is a spiritual struggle, ultimately relying upon God's interference; Balaq's war with Israel, the only one of its kind in Scripture, was waged with spiritual means, with God ultimately showing his decisive hand in it. The theology of the poem, equally rooted in Midrash,<sup>3</sup> that in the last resort only God's mercies can help man against his devilish adversary, is in nucleus contained in this re-interpreted quotation, allegorizing a national fight into a personal fate.

Also this song is a mosaic-like amalgam of scriptural elements. Apart from David's and Balaq's battles, Jacob's preparation for a hostile encounter with his brother Esau is allegorically understood as a fight against Yeşer-hara', taking the patriarch's two "companies" as representing man's personal effort ("worship" and "penitence" and God's support (his "mercies"). Quoting Jacob's words,<sup>4</sup> Gabirol puts yişriy, my tempter, in place of Esau, thus personifying the abstract notion of the "evil inclination". He says:

If my tempter comes to the one company and smites it, then the other company which is left shall escape.

Another historical struggle between Joshua the high priest and his hostile opponents, is by the same technique brought into the poem. Quoting the prophetic image of "satan" standing . . . to "resist"

<sup>1</sup> B. Lewis' rendering, with some alterations relevant to the discussion; the italicized words and phrases are the present writer's version.

<sup>2</sup> II Sam. xviii, 3; Num. xxii, 6.

<sup>3</sup> Babl. Qiddushyn 30b ואלמלא הקדוש ברוך הוא עזרו אין יכול לו; cf. the Qumran Manual of Disc. IV, 20, 21; Hodayoth VII, 27; XIII, 14-17, particularly IV, 35, 36.

<sup>4</sup> Gen. xxxii, 9.

the re-building of the town,<sup>1</sup> Gabirol, with Midrash<sup>2</sup> identifying Satan with yeşer-hara', says:

*My cruel tempter stands firm by my right hand to tempt me.*

A translation which puts fierce or evil "inclination" for "yeşer". (Zangwill) is removing Gabirol's personification from the poem, so essential for the whole imagery of its context. Only with a "tempter", a Satan or diabolos, is it poetically possible to use such figurative expressions as "standing" by my right hand, "scattering" my warriors, "smiting" the company, and being "smitten", or "driven" out as the "enemy". Lewis also has sometimes evil imagining or cruel urge, but he uses these psychological abstractions only when no mythical personification but a merely personal human attitude is involved. In this context of battles and fights he subtly and aptly employed the biblical figure of the "tempter".<sup>3</sup>

Regarding the translations of the two citations in the last stanza the following observations have to be made. The first concerns the word me-'iy. In the biblical context "iy" stands there for "town", in which David was asked to stay. This meaning does not make sense here in the poem. Yet in certain contexts it has been interpreted as enemy,<sup>4</sup> taking it as the equivalent of Aramaic "ar" and Hebrew "sar". Sar is rendered in LXX as diabolos,<sup>5</sup> which means foe and satan. Gabirol undoubtedly employed "iy" in this sense. He certainly played on the possible double meaning of the term. Yeşer-hara' is, also in Midrash, the "enemy".<sup>6</sup> God's help is needed to fight him and to drive him out. With this we arrive at our second observation. This concerns the rendering of the last, basic, quotation in the poem. Here we have an excellent example of a case where a translator can fall into the trap of using indiscriminately one of the existing versions of the biblical verse.

In the case of "iy" only few translators have seen Gabirol's playing and allegorizing intention.<sup>7</sup> Gaster has: . . . overcome mine "enemy". The majority omitted the word in their versions (Dukes, Stein; Sachs, De Sola). Some have: help from the "city", which is

<sup>1</sup> Zach. iii, 1.

<sup>2</sup> Babl. Baba Bathra 16a הוא שטן הוא יצר הרע.

<sup>3</sup> See Matth. iv, 3.

<sup>4</sup> See Jer. xv, 8, Qimhi there.

<sup>5</sup> LXX Est. VII, 4; cf. Zach. iii, 1.

<sup>6</sup> Gen. Rab. xxii, 12, on Gen. iv, 5.

<sup>7</sup> Shirmann, op. cit. p. 280 takes it as the "Reserves stationed in the town"; but Zeidmann, in his Kether edition, with commentary, Jerusalem, Mosad Kook, 1950, p. 78, explains it as "enemy".

nonsense (D. Levi). Zangwill tries to make sense of it explaining it as: better than a city of refuge. Hirschfeld, obviously taking "me'iy'r" as a present participle of 'ur, skilfully renders the phrase as "aufmunternder Beistand", an arousing or encouraging assistance.<sup>1</sup> Donati has de ciuitate, and Nieto de fortaleza.

In the case of the last verse, it is the third person accusative pronouns in "bo" and "wa-'aghareshenu" which cause the difficulty. Gabirol clearly refers to the enemy, the yeşer-hara', to be smitten and driven out. But in the OT story the enemy are the children of Israel. Therefore AV has there: smite "them" and drive "them" out (in plural); but Gabirol's text must read: smite "him" and drive "him" out (in singular). B. Lewis, employing the AV translation here, rendered the verse incomprehensible in its context. Zangwill, because of his abstract "inclination", has "it"; De Sola and Gaster, enlarging the cited text by an added explanation, have: "drive away my evil inclination." D. Levi has: "drive the enemy away." But then they usually go in for interpretative integration of the quoted text rather than for its unchanged preservation.

## VI

### *Burning boil and Shadday's shadow*

In the preceding cases we saw the translator either by misapprehension omitting an indispensable concept from the cited text (in the case of the "enemy"), or by necessity adapting the Authorised Version of this text (in the case of the "mighty"), or by mistake adopting this Version unchanged (in the case of smiting, and driving, "them"). Now we shall consider a case in which the AV, and any other existing version of the quotation, had definitely to be abandoned but where the new renditions also miss the poet's point.

In the thirty-fifth chapter of the hymn, the poet thanking God for granting him life, sustenance and assistance, and for "A perfect faith . . . Thou gavest me",<sup>2</sup> scorns the "rebels and adversaries . . . who blaspheme God's name", the dissenters and heretics, "who make a show of innocence — and beneath it is perfidy". As in all doctrinal disputes throughout the ages, in the Old and New Testament, in the Apocrypha, Qumran and Midrash, Gabirol also accuses the heretical schismatics of hypocrisy and pretence,<sup>3</sup> they whitewash

<sup>1</sup> See Buber and Torczyner II Sam. xviii, 3: "Hilfe aufzuerwecken", "Ansporn".

<sup>2</sup> To Gabirol's notion of God as "giver" of "faith" cf. Rom. xii, 3.

<sup>3</sup> About this see M. Gertner, The terms pharisaioi . . . Bull. School of Oriental and African Studies XXVI, 2, 1963, p. 247.

their apostasy by outward shine and false appearance. Here also, as in the whole Kether, he employs the double method of personification and allegorical interpretation, rooted in earlier Midrash expositions.<sup>1</sup> In this case he chose scriptural precepts about ritual uncleanness as his poetic and homiletic building material. The last line of the poem, a full quotation, is again the basis and starting-point of the poem's composition. The dissemblers are "Like a vessel full of shame, washed outside with waters of deceit, and all that is in it is unclean".<sup>2</sup> The "vessel" is personified to stand for man, God's work, and the notion of ritual defilement allegorized into the idea of heresy and hypocrisy. In the course of his polemic Gabirol rebukes those "who show a clean and purified soul, and beneath it is a burning boil".

The Hebrew original cited has here "bahereth", bright spot ("if the bright spot stay in his place")<sup>3</sup> and not "burning boil". Gabirol undoubtedly employed "bahereth" in its actual meaning of "brightness" (from "bahar"), to symbolize sham whitewash and misleading falsehood, hypocrisy and heresy.<sup>4</sup> Matthew likens the hypocrites to "whited sepulchres", and Midrash takes the "whiteness" of the plagues as symbolizing heresy. The grammatical shaf'el form of bahar, shabhar, is often used in the Syriac Version for boasting hypocrisy.<sup>5</sup> Gabirol, citing the verse, says: "they show the appearance of a pure soul but in its stead (taḥteyha) there is whitewash"; using the preposition "taḥath" not in the sense of "underneath" but as "instead", in its place.<sup>6</sup> This, too, is a re-interpretation, because in the original Leviticus verse the preposition means "at its place", "not moving, not spreading".

On another occasion, with no allegorical intentions, the poet cites the same verse simply as a play on words, using "taḥath" in the sense of "underneath" and "bahereth" as brightness of the sun

<sup>1</sup> See Babl. Sanhedriyn 97a, on Lev. xiii, 13, where "white" is taken as the "doctrine of heresy"; see also Tanḥuma Tazria', XI, on Lev. xiii, 2, where "bahereth" is interpreted to mean the Hellenistic influence against the Jewish faith.

<sup>2</sup> Lev. xi, 33; here Lewis aptly changed AV's "shall" into "is"; Levi ("pollutes"), De Sola ("does defile"), Zangwill ("defiling") take the intransitive "yitma'" as a transitive "yeṭamme'"; see Mishnah Soṭah V, 2 and Mark vii, 23.

<sup>3</sup> Lev. xiii, 23.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Matth. xxiii, 27: "hypocrites . . . like whited sepulchres"; see Babl. Soṭah 22b, where hypocrites are called "šebhu'iyn", "painted" or "whited". See above n. 1.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Syriac Ps. xxxv, 16; Prov. xxvi, 18, and Sirach xxxiii, 15.

<sup>6</sup> See Gen. xxii, 13.

shining on the moon.<sup>1</sup> There most translators did not comprehend the simple astronomical meaning of the text. Here they missed the deeper exegetical implications conveyed by it. For even those who translate "bahereth" as "bright spot" (Levi, De Sola, Zangwill, Gaster) still speak of it as the "leper" being "beneath" (Donati: sub ea), "internally concealed" (Nieto: intrinsecamente), "lurking underneath"; thus destroying the symbolic nature of the first image in this last stanza depicting the outward appearance, and not the inward corruption illustrated in the second image of the "vessel". This about the "burning boil", and now about "shadday's shadow". Occasionally we find translators differing diametrically in their rendering of a poetic passage paraphrastically based on a scriptural text, where there is hardly a way of deciding which of them is right. A case in point is the notion of "shadday's shadow".

In a liturgical piyyuṭ sung in the New Year's service one line of the hymn reads: "He dwelleth in the secret place in the shadow of the Almighty."<sup>2</sup> According to this version the last two adjacent words in the Hebrew original, be-ṣel (in the shadow) shadday (the Almighty) stand in a genitive relationship: "in the shadow of shadday", with shadday as object. But to have God dwell in the shadow of the Almighty is a rather paradoxical notion. Another version reads: "Who abideth in secret in that impenetrable shadow."<sup>3</sup> The author of this version takes shadday as the subject of the whole verse: "The Almighty who abideth in the shadow." This is a more palatable conception.

This liturgical line is a paraphrase of the first verse of the ninety-first psalm. There too these two syntactical possibilities, concerning "be-ṣel shadday", are open to commentators and translators; and the verse has indeed been diversely interpreted. But there those, like Rashi and Ibn Ezra, who take "shadday" as a genitive-object mostly interpret the verse, with Midrash, as referring to man, to Moses, who "was abiding in the shadow of the Almighty".<sup>4</sup> Only

<sup>1</sup> Kether chap. xvii; see Zangwill, p. liii, quoting this in particular as an instance of "bad taste", grotesque in a poem of the sublimity of the Kether (see p. 95 his rendering); compare Rückert, *Die Makamen des Hariri*, 1844, p. 24, where the Arabic poet plays on a verse of the Qoran.

<sup>2</sup> See *Service of the Synagogue*, published under the sanction of Dr. Hermann Adler, New Year, 19th edition, 1953, p. 150 (translator Arthur Davis).

<sup>3</sup> הלן בסתר בצל שדי See *Maḥzor Roedelheim*, 1832, the Hebrew commentary: ה' לן בצלו של שדי

<sup>4</sup> *The Form of Prayers, New Year*, According to the custom of the German and Polish Jews, 1807, translated by D. Levi, revised by J. Levi, p. 131.

<sup>5</sup> Compare Ex. Rab. XXXIV, 1, on Ex. xxv, 10 and Ps. xci, 1: "he who dwells in the secret is the most high" (... in the shadow is shadday); Tanḥuma Num.



in Targum do we find the mystical formulation of God who "abides in the shadow of shadday's clouds of splendour".

Since, then, the original, biblical source of the liturgical poem is itself open to diverse interpretations, it is difficult to establish with certainty what the poet meant in his paraphrase of it. The translators who have him adopt Targum's mystical idea and sing of God "dwelling in the shadow of shadday" have the poetic structure of the line on their side. Rhythmically its four words are better divided into two balanced parts. Those who object to this interpretation have to destroy this balance and detach the last word, shadday, from the preceding three, as many printed editions, with the help of an inserted comma, indeed do: "Who abideth in secret in the shadow, (it is) shadday."<sup>1</sup>

The translators adhering to this school preferred to drop the word shadday altogether; the rhythmical gap they filled with the adjective "impenetrable".

In the case of "bahereth" the translator has to take into account the poet's exegesis in his rendition of the cited biblical concept. In the example of "shadday" poetic structure and theological conceptions have to be his main guide when considering, and rendering, the original phrase.

## VII

### *Law and lore*

In poetry scriptural quotations, even when pregnant with exegetical significance and burdened with the entire structure of the poetic edifice, are never openly and explicitly presented as the actual basis and focus of the poem's content. They are not distinctly cited to prove a point of view outspokenly; they are, as in Gabirol's Kether, poetically integrated into the texture of the composition, invisibly suggesting its fundamental notion. This is not so in a text of a midrashic nature, like Maimonides' code. There the citation is the proof and the fount of everything, of halakhic law as well as of haggadic lore. Legal precepts and moral principles flow from it, doctrinal statements and ritualistic stipulations rely upon it.

A translator of such a work has to bear this in mind. For very often one and the same scriptural verse may be cited in various contexts

XXIII, on Num. vii, 1: "he who dwells in the secret shelter of God who is the most high (in the shadow of shadday)."

<sup>1</sup> See Yehiel M. Halevi's *Matteh-Levi* commentary to the *Maḥzor*, takes shadday as subject.

in a variety of different interpretations. Maimonides, like the talmudic Rabbis, practised this method. In a translation of his code no citation quoted in several different connections can, and should, be rendered uniformly. Each quotation requires a translation in accordance with the point it is meant to support. Therefore, we have to add, the translator cannot always indiscriminately take over the existing versions of the cited text. He has sometimes to translate it anew in harmony with its context. A few examples will illustrate this.

A.—In Deuteronomy, we read the injunction to appear before the Lord three times in a year, and not to come empty-handed, but: “every man according to the gift of his hand”,<sup>1</sup> as the Hebrew text says literally. Maimonides quotes this sentence in support of three stipulations: first, not to give less than one’s ability; second, not to give more than one’s ability (for this “is not piety but folly”); third, there is no prescribed measure for the gift.<sup>2</sup> Every man may give — within the minimum and maximum limits — as much, or as little, as he wishes. In the first two cases Maimonides takes the Hebrew “yado” in its figurative sense of “ability”; in the third case he takes it plainly to mean his, the donor’s, offering “hand”. Ability does not come into it. The offered gift does not have to be in actual proportion to the donor’s wealth. In the first two cases, then, the translators did well to use the AV rendering: “Every man shall give as he is able”;<sup>3</sup> but in the third case this version does not prove Maimonides’ point. It rather disproves it. The citation should, here, be translated: “Every man, whatever gift his hand offers.” Danby’s uncritical copying of AV in this instance confuses the issue. Incidentally the fact that Maimonides cites the same verse in its two different meanings in one and the same paragraph<sup>4</sup> surely makes the need for a distinct rendering of the citation even more relevant.

B.—In Leviticus we read: “The firstling of the beasts, which should be the Lord’s firstling, no man shall sanctify it.”<sup>5</sup> This verse is quoted by Maimonides in two radically different meanings. Once

<sup>1</sup> Deut. xvi, 17.

<sup>2</sup> Mishneh Torah Hagiygah I, 2; Arakhiyn VIII, 13.

<sup>3</sup> The Code of Maimonides, vol. IV, The Book of Offerings, translated by H. Danby, Yale Judaica Series, 1950, p. 49; *ibid.* The Book of Asseverations, translated by B. D. Klien, p. 210.

<sup>4</sup> Hagiygah I, 2, Book of Offerings, p. 49.

<sup>5</sup> Lev. xxvii, 26.

he cites it in support of the prohibition against changing the firstling into another type of sacrifice. Its sanctity is unique and should not be changed into another kind of sacrificial sanctity. The Hebrew "lo' yaqdiysh" is, with Talmud, understood here as a prohibiting injunction: "no man *shall*" impose another sanctity upon the firstling.<sup>1</sup> But at another occasion the verse is cited by Maimonides in a rather surprising sense. A firstling, he says there, "does not acquire its sanctity through human action, and a person cannot therefore confer that status upon an animal by a vow".<sup>2</sup> Here in this context "lo' yaqdiysh" is taken to mean: "no one *can* sanctify it; it is not in the power of man to create such sanctity." This is a new interpretation not to be found in the earlier sources. The translator of this paragraph (B. D. Klien) has shown great discretion in rendering the verb "hithpiys" here in the sense of "conferring" the status of sanctity as Maimonides undoubtedly meant it to be understood. A thorough analysis of the context, which cannot be discussed here, shows that both J. Karo's and R. Abraham's suggestions regarding the meaning of the verb here are incorrect;<sup>3</sup> and the translator was right in giving his own, correct, meaning of it. But with the biblical citation he fell into the trap of uncritically copying the AV rendering. For in the first case, where a prohibition is supported, this version (no one shall . . .) is suitable; in the second case, where a fact of inability is stated, the quotation should be translated in this sense (no one can . . .).

C.—The prophet, speaking of one who "stealeth" and "swareth", says: "I will bring it forth, says the Lord, and it shall enter into the house of the thief, and into the house of him that sweareth falsely by my name . . .".<sup>4</sup> Maimonides cites the verse, as Talmud does, in support of an aggadic moral teaching, namely, that "the punishment for all (other) transgressions (enumerated) in Scripture may remain suspended . . . but here it is exacted immediately".<sup>5</sup> The AV rendering of the Hebrew "hoše'thiyha" as an announcement speaking of a future action is obviously based on LXX who have the verb with waw conversive (we-hoše'thiyha).<sup>6</sup> But Talmud and Maimonides

<sup>1</sup> Mishneh Torah Temurah IV, 11; see Babl. 'Arakhiyn 29a, where "lo' yaqdish" is changed into "'al taqdish" by those who want it to mean a clear prohibition.

<sup>2</sup> Mishneh Torah, Nedhariym I, 13, Book of Asseverations, p. 60.

<sup>3</sup> See Karo's Keseph Mishneh ad. loc., quoting also R. Abraham.

<sup>4</sup> Zach. v, 4.

<sup>5</sup> Babl. Shabhu'oth 39a; Mishneh Torah Shabhu'oth, XI, 16; Book of Asseverations, p. 49.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Kittel-Kahle edition.

exploit the Massoretic perfect form of the verb. Midrashically this enables them to interpret the prophets pronouncement to mean: this will be done instantly. The translator, therefore, did well to alter AV's "I will bring forth" into "I cause it to bring forth", i.e. immediately.

## VIII

### *Conclusion*

In this essay problems of translation have been dealt with arising in poetic as well as in prose works. Most examples for poetry have been taken from Ibn Gabirol's hymn *Kether Malkhuth* quoted in Prof. B. Lewis' magnificent prose version, the last in a series of six. Passages from Yehudah Halevi's poetry and from Synagogue piyyut liturgy have also been discussed. For prose the Yale edition of Maimonides' *Mishneh Torah*, particularly *The Book of Asseverations* in B. Klien's competent rendering, served as an exemplification.

As far as poetry is concerned the question of matter and manner took a prominent place in the discussion. We have been able to show that translators of Hebrew medieval poetry are as divided in their views about the best ways of solving this question as are translators of any other poetry. The two major schools of thought, that of "literalness" and that of "literature", are to be found here too.

But the main theme in this paper has been the scriptural citation, the biblical phrase, or the paraphrase of a verse from the Bible. A quoted verse in a poem often presents the same obstacles to the translator as those presented by metre and rhyme. We have shown that in certain poetic works the citation is not a mere ornament, but the foundation and starting-point of the whole composition, involving particular theological doctrines and original exegetical interpretations. It has also been demonstrated that often the poet's specific exegesis is rooted in earlier Midrash expositions.

Some translators have been shown to prefer, in the case of citations, the method of integration, of making the cited text an integral, assimilated part of the poem; with the cited text losing its character as a quotation. Others, on the other hand, mostly left the biblical text unchanged, thus making the scriptural element as conspicuous as it is in the Hebrew original. But these translators, we saw, occasionally fall into the trap of copying blindly the existing versions of scripture. In many cases it could be shown that the existing renderings would not suit the context; often they would even distort the poetic image or contradict the exegetical intention shaped and suggested by the Hebrew author.

It has been made manifest that in translating a legal work like Maimonides' *Yad ha'azakah*, the rôle of the quotation there being even more important, the translator can fall into the same traps of uncritically copying existing translations and so confusing the author's point.

Kether and code, hymn and halakhah, piyyuṭ and prose impose upon the translator the same high responsibilities towards the original and its author and towards the new version and its readers. And this mainly because of the biblical ingredients contained in them. For these ingredients are, in fact, the leaven and the soul of the work's growth and life.



## SIR ALEXANDER CUNNINGHAM (1814-1893): THE FIRST PHASE OF INDIAN ARCHAEOLOGY

By ABU IMAM

IN RECENT YEARS some admirable attempts have been made to offer a connected story of the development of the science of archaeology in various parts of the world in the last hundred years or so. No comparable account is available of its development in India. Archaeology developed in Denmark, in the Aegean, in Egypt and in Cranborne Chase — as it were, so many laboratories in which the methods and techniques of the new discipline were perfected. The question naturally arises in the mind as to why these methods did not grow in India, where literally hundreds of sites were at the archaeologists' disposal. What circumstances prevailed in the Indian archaeological scene to account for the remarkable delay in introducing developed concepts and techniques? To answer this question we must examine the phase when archaeology in India was dominated by Cunningham and Burgess.

Alexander Cunningham came to India in 1833 at the age of 19 in the service of the Company as an army engineer. His career neatly falls into two distinct parts — the first, his army life up to 1860 and the second — for which he is better known today — his period as the Director of the Indian Archaeological Survey until 1885 (with a short break from 1866-1870 when the first Survey was abolished).

How did this army engineer become involved in the archaeology of the sub-continent? For the answer we have to look at the intellectual milieu of the British Calcutta of the time. Among the officers of the Company active there at the time was one of uncommon talents, unbounded energy and unlimited curiosity, who was in charge of the Calcutta mint — James Prinsep. It so happened that the Company's currency system was going to be overhauled. This aroused his interest about the past coinages of India. He had moreover been an apprentice under H. H. Wilson, the great doyen of Sanskrit scholarship, who was his former chief in the mint.

Also, by another stroke of luck at this moment, Ventura, Ranjit Singh's French general, inspired by the success stories of Egyptian pyramid-robbers, took it into his head to dig into the bowels of the innumerable towers of unknown origin which stood mysteriously dotted about the plains of the Panjab and the hills of the Frontier, known as 'topes' by the local people. The people themselves had

long learnt to accept them with a passive unconcern and would take no more notice of these 'topes' than of the surrounding landscape itself. But they whipped up the wonder and curiosity of the foreigner. Ventura utilized his influence with Ranjit Singh to obtain permission to dig.

His findings created a sensation, and his example was followed by others. Curiosity increased as Bactrian, Roman and Indo-Scythic coins began to turn up in greater and greater numbers. Everyone with an antiquarian bent of mind became engrossed in this new development, and the focus of all this intellectual activity was Prinsep's newly started *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*.

Thus Prinsep became the pilot of this new venture into the unknown regions of Indian history. Prinsep's request for coins and inscriptions went out to the four corners of India and he was soon flooded with them, particularly from Panjab and Afghanistan, by Masson, Honigberger, Gerard, Keramat Ali and Mohan Lal. Ventura's collection was sent to Calcutta and he himself went there. Another sensation was Captain Cautley's accidental discovery of the remains of an ancient town near Behat, while excavating the Jumna canal. And Cunningham arrived in the midst of these enthusiastic activities. It is no wonder that he was at once caught in the whirlpool and that in a short time he became Prinsep's closest collaborator. The Brāhmī and Kharoṣṭhī scripts were deciphered before his very eyes, the inscriptions of *Piyadasi* were read and Turnour discovered that this *Piyadasi* was no other than the celebrated Aśoka of Buddhist tradition.

Following Ventura, Cunningham himself opened the great Dhamek stupa at Sarnath at great expense and considerable trouble. In 1842 he discovered the site of Sankissa. While sent on geographical missions in 1839, 1846 and 1847 in Kashmir and Ladakh, he varied his normal duties with systematic antiquarian pursuits.

Meanwhile, in that same historic decade of the thirties of the nineteenth century Buddhism was discovered by the combined researches of Hodgson, Turnour, Csoma, Rémusat, Burnouf and Lassen, with tremendous consequences for the future course of Indian archaeology and historiography and with equally significant effects on the whole attitude of Cunningham towards Indian history and archaeology.

During the following years he leaned more and more towards the study of Buddhism, and its archaeology and history in India. This

was the beginning of that predominance of Buddhism in Indian archaeology that was to characterize it for the best part of the following century. His activities at Sarnath, his articles in defence of Hsüan Tsang,<sup>1</sup> and finally his explorations in Sankissa in 1842<sup>2</sup> and his excavations at Sanchi in 1851<sup>3</sup> are the landmarks in his progress towards his Buddhism-centred archaeology. Cunningham has been wrongly criticized for this preoccupation, which was perhaps inevitable in the circumstances of the time. Indeed in a curious way it was Buddhism which provided him with the best reason for the study of Indian archaeology.

When he discovered the site of Sankissa, he communicated the news to Colonel Sykes in London, adding that an archaeological survey of India 'would be an undertaking of vast importance to the Indian Government politically, and to the British public religiously. To the first body it would show that India had generally been divided into numerous petty chiefships, which had invariably been the case upon every successful invasion; while, whenever she had been under one ruler, she had always repelled foreign conquest with determined resolution. To the other body it would show that Brahmanism, instead of being an unchanged and unchangeable religion which had subsisted for ages, was of comparatively modern origin, and had been *constantly* receiving additions and alterations; facts which prove that the establishment of the Christian religion in India must ultimately succeed'.<sup>4</sup>

Buddhism and its archaeology was therefore to be studied for the cause of promoting Christianity. Brahmanism was not so changeless after all. For a systematic study of Buddhism, however, the first requisite was a survey at government cost.

Since writing his letter to Sykes, he had been toying with the idea of a survey. The discovery of Sankissa left him wondering. In the same letter to Sykes he wrote: 'These few points, which have been ascertained by me on a march upon duty in the rainy season, and without a single halt, will show you what might be done if one had

<sup>1</sup> 'Verification of the Itinerary of Hwan Tshang through Ariana and India, with reference to Major Anderson's hypothesis of its modern compilation', *JASB.*, 1848, Pt. I, 476-488 and Pt. II, 13-60.

<sup>2</sup> 'An Account of the Discovery of the Ruins of the Buddhist city of Samkassa', *JRAS.*, 1843, 241 ff.

<sup>3</sup> 'Opening of the Topes or Buddhist Monuments of Central India', *JRAS.*, 1852, 108 ff.

<sup>4</sup> *Op. cit.*, *JRAS.*, 1843, 246-7.

the opportunity of marching leisurely, with time to halt at all places which seemed to offer any objects of interest. . . . To open these, and to search out all the Buddhistical ruins in India, would be works of the greatest interest and importance. With what joy and zeal would not one trace Fa Hian's route from Mathura, his first Indian station, to his embarkation for Ceylon.' The point was driven home by another letter in 1848 to the Asiatic Society of Bengal.<sup>1</sup> The publication of all the existing remains of Buddhism — their architecture, sculpture, coins and inscriptions — was as important for the illustration of the history of India as the printing of the Vedas and Purāṇas. It was a duty which the Government owed to the country. Moreover, the remains of architecture and sculpture were daily deteriorating, and inscriptions were broken or defaced. 'The fact that Buddhism continued to flourish throughout India for many centuries, is to be ascertained from monuments almost alone. Buildings, coins, and inscriptions all point to Buddhistical ascendancy until the attacks of the Musalmans under Mahomed Ghaznavi. . . . the institutes of Menu, the Ramayana, the Mahabharata, and the fabulous Puranas are all silent regarding Buddhism, as if that religion had never flourished in India . . .'. He also pointed out how 'an inquirer into Indian archaeology, should tread in the footsteps of the Chinese pilgrims Hwan Thsang and Fa Hian'.

This then was the germ of the idea the fulfilment of which he was eventually to see. The survey of Buchanan — who can in a sense be called the first archaeological surveyor — had only recently been made widely known through the digest prepared by Martin. The impressive results of the efforts of Mackenzie and Tod in collecting antiquities in the course of their official duties had been known for a long time. This was the time when the archaeological tours — the first tours ever undertaken in India solely for archaeological purposes — of the Scottish indigo-planter Fergusson had just been completed (1835–42), and their lesson could not have been lost on Cunningham. The success of the trigonometrical and topographical surveys from the beginning of the nineteenth century was also a source of inspiration. Csoma Körösi's Tibetan expeditions and the examples of Honigberger, Court, Ventura and Masson set in the early thirties were fresh in the memory to inspire one who aspired to be the archaeologist of Buddhism. As we have seen before, Cunningham himself had already had experience of arduous geographical explorations

<sup>1</sup> 'Proposed Archaeological Investigation', *JASB.*, 1848, 535–6.

with which he had combined field-archaeology. But the most decisive rôle in determining the future course of Cunningham's career was played by the epoch-making publication of the decade — the translation of Fa-hsien's account of his travels in India.<sup>1</sup>

The impact of its publication on the world of Indology is difficult to realize today, when the main substance of Indian history has become commonplace. For the first time, with its publication, Indian history was invested with a kind of reality that it had hitherto lacked. Also for the first time, this translation of Fa-hsien, however imperfect it may have been, provided some means of finding the traces of the lost cities of India, if only someone had enough leisure to go out on the quest with the translation in hand. It provided the same kind of guide for India as Pausanias had done for the classical world, and Cunningham as well as others quickly realized this. The translators of Fa-hsien had added geographical notes to their text, not very successfully admittedly. But its publication was followed by a discussion by Wilson in the *JRAS*.<sup>2</sup> In this remarkable article he almost pinpointed all the sites. The translation of Fa-hsien was followed in 1857 and 1858 by Stanislas Julien's translation of Hsüan Tsang,<sup>3</sup> another important work equally far-reaching in its implications, and which was moreover far superior as a guide to the history and archaeology of India. The value of the translation was further enhanced by the addition of a geographical discussion of first-rate quality by V. St. Martin.

This book came at the right time. What better time could there be for setting up a survey? The outline of Indian history was clearer than ever before, — the success achieved in Cunningham's own attempt at sketching it in his *Bhilsa Topes* is the proof, not to speak of the much larger work of Lassen. Much reliable material on Buddhism was now at the scholar's disposal. Something of the history of Indian art had in the meanwhile been learnt. Both Kharoṣṭhī and Brāhmī had been read. Politically India was united under British Paramountcy. Corners hitherto not easy of access were now accessible. The Pax Britannica was reigning supreme after the holocaust of the Mutiny. Cunningham himself was approaching retirement after distinguished service. He would then

<sup>1</sup> *Foë Kouë Ki ou Relation des Royaumes Bouddhiques*, par Abel Rémusat, Klaproth et Landresse. Paris, 1836.

<sup>2</sup> 'Account of the Foe Kue Ki, or Travels of Fa Hian in India, translated from the Chinese by Rémusat', *JRAS*, 1839, 108-140.

<sup>3</sup> *Mémoires sur les Contrées Occidentales*. Paris, tome I, 1857; tome II, 1858.



be the master of his entire time, which he would be able to employ in the pursuit of his favourite study. The Viceroy himself was known to have an enlightened interest in things of this nature. He had only recently (1856) placed the geological survey on a proper footing.

In November 1861 Cunningham addressed a memorandum to Lord Canning,<sup>1</sup> in which he complained of the apathy of the Government towards the antiquities of India. It was understandable that hitherto the Government had been 'occupied with the extension and consolidation of empire', but the time had come when 'it would redound equally to the honour of the British Government to institute a careful and systematic investigation of all the existing monuments of ancient India'. And the task, when finished, 'would furnish a detailed and accurate account of the archaeological remains of Upper India'. The Government in its post-mutiny mood at once fell in with the idea and Lord Canning issued orders for the immediate appointment of Cunningham as the Director of the Survey, as the man who had 'more than any other officer on this side of India, made the antiquities of the country his study'.

Explorations were a painful, hazardous business in his time. Most of the travelling had to be done on horseback, but he also used elephants, bullock-carts and camels; sometimes he even travelled on foot, and, as time went by, journeyed more and more by the railway. Historians required more than the mere capacity for enduring hardship — tact and resourcefulness also were called for. In those less enlightened times, people were always suspicious of the archaeologist prowling about the ruins — what motive could he possibly have but the recovery of hidden treasures? Inscriptions only gave the clues to such treasures! In those post-mutiny days, Cunningham had also to be particularly careful about religious susceptibilities. Often a non-cooperative priest would foil all his attempts to procure a copy of an inscription or a drawing of a sculpture. Moreover, the dread of offended ghosts and malignant spirits had a deadly hold on the minds of the labourers he employed — not to speak of the fear of the offence that the gods themselves might take. Indeed, disturbances created by ghosts frequently marred his excavations. There were also more real dangers to contend with, such as tigers, robbers and disease.

<sup>1</sup> For this and the related matters the most handy reference is Volume I of Cunningham's reports.

His tours of exploration, however, were but hurried visits from site to site. In one season he might visit as many as thirty of them. During these brief visits he could scarcely do justice to the sites. Usually he stopped from three to six days on a site; for an exceptionally long operation he might stay for about a fortnight. For him excavations remained to the end a kind of test probing, which was never followed by a concerted, planned attack with definite aims in view. His chief aim was to identify the cities, and the buildings in those cities, as seen by Hsüan Tsang. The ability to identify ruins with ancient cities was, for him, one of the most important functions of an archaeologist. Very often his explorations would degenerate into mere object hunting expeditions: he would visit the site, clear the jungle around, and employ a gang of labourers to search for coins, inscriptions and sculptures, often offering rewards 'for even a single letter'. Then he would himself scour the countryside, gardens, bushes and the homes of the people. He collected a large number of inscriptions and sculptures by this means, particularly in Bhārhut, Kauśāmbī and Mathurā.

However limited in scope his archaeology may have been in practice, in theory at least he had a much more comprehensive idea, — an idea indeed as comprehensive as any of today. He stated this in the Memorandum of Instructions which he issued to his assistants in 1871 and published in the third volume of his reports.

He begins with the assertion that 'archaeology is not limited to broken sculptures, old buildings and mounds of ruins, but includes everything that belonged to the world's history'. Although architecture is the most important object of study 'researches should be extended to all ancient remains whatever that will help to illustrate the manners and customs of former times'. In architecture particularly are to be studied those features 'which show the gradual progress of the art of architecture in India. . . . All examples of beautiful ornamentation or of peculiar constructive skill should also be noted. . . .' The claims of pre-history are not forgotten: 'Connected with the stone celts are the large earthen barrows, stone circles and stone houses or *dolmens*, which are found in many of the hilly parts of India. The position and dimensions of all these should be noted for further research and future excavation. Smaller monuments may perhaps be opened at once, as the work would not occupy more than a few days; but all the larger barrows must be left for more leisurely exploration. Monoliths or *menhirs* are more rarely found. . . .' But coins, inscriptions, architecture

and sculpture are not the only objects worthy of an archaeologist's attention. He thinks 'it also desirable that attention should be given to the many rude but curious agricultural implements which are still used in the less frequented districts to the south of the Jumna. Their names should be noted, and a rough sketch made of each implement, showing the material of which each part is constructed. The various forms of mills for sugar and oil should also be noted. . . . Any peculiarities in the form or construction of the native carts might also be noted with advantage. . . . Some of these may help to throw light on the scenes sculptured on old monuments; others may serve to illustrate passages in ancient authors; whilst all will be valuable for preserving a knowledge of things which in many places are now fast passing away, and will soon become obsolete and forgotten'.

Thus his definition of archaeology almost savours of anthropology and sociology. Also interesting is his concern for prehistoric materials. One suspects that his stay in Europe between 1866 and 1870 provided him with the background for such an idea of archaeology, — particularly when we remember that this was the period when prehistory was being widely popularized by the books of Lyell, Lubbock and Tylor. It was also hard to escape the impact of the brisk researches then being carried on in the fields of anthropology and sociology — although Morgan's famous work was not yet out.

But how far he lived up to the ideal set in this manifesto is, however, another matter. In practice we find that his methods failed to develop in the field of historical archaeology, nor was prehistory given any serious attention except for the collection of stone implements — phenomena particularly curious since he lived most of his active life during the years when elsewhere in Europe and the Near East, in the Aegean particularly, antiquarianism of the old type was slowly being transformed into archaeology by men like Newton, Conze, Fiorelli, Curtius, Dörpfeld and Schliemann. The process was completed at the end of the century by the two great English archaeologists, Pitt-Rivers and Petrie.

In India we detect an unbelievable unawareness of the development in method and technique that was taking place outside her borders. Indeed in Cunningham's writings one hardly comes across any mention of archaeologists working elsewhere contemporarily with him, except for an occasional reference to Layard. In 1870, with the establishment of the second Survey, he picked up the

threads of his unfinished work in the same manner as in 1861. The same pattern of exploration, excavation and reporting was repeated year after year as if nothing had happened in the science of archaeology in the meanwhile. He carried the British tradition of barrow-digging with him to India and never really grew out of it. Indeed he often uses the word 'barrow' in describing a stupa and once at least suggests that the earliest stupas were simple earthen mounds 'similar to those that still exist in England'.

Some of the basic concepts of modern archaeology Cunningham could certainly have developed in India, as he had vast and promising fields in sites like Taxila, Vaiśālī, Śrāvastī, Kauśāmbī, etc. In fifty years he examined innumerable *tells* in the immense expanses of Northern India and almost all of them were the remains of ancient cities, yet he never really understood the peculiar problems that their excavation presented nor did he realize the importance of the question of levels that, say, fifty feet high tells representing accumulations of a thousand or more years posed. The most important factor that definitely hindered such a realization was the existence of epigraphic and written records of Indian history — in any case of the period in which he was interested, the so-called 'Buddhist period'.

It is therefore of extraordinary interest to discover that once he did face a situation where the traditional methods were of no help, and in tackling it he almost discovered the principle of stratigraphy.

At Multan he was confronted with an accumulation nearly 50 feet high without any of his favourite signs — remains of structures, pieces of sculpture, or coins and inscriptions — to guide him on his way. In desperation he dug what he calls an 'archaeological well'. A huge section was cut, running down to a depth of 40 feet, where he reached the virgin soil. The result is given in tabular form.<sup>1</sup> The table is drawn up on the basis of a principle that has no place in archaeology today. As he came up against the problem of levels and their dating in his 'archaeological well', he tried to build up a time-check on the basis of the rate of thickness of accumulation in a given time so that it would be possible to obtain the automatic dating for any particular depth in the section. This was by no means a novel attempt; it had already been tried at various times and discarded by other archaeologists because of obvious difficulties. However, by a somewhat illogical jugglery of figures he obtained in

<sup>1</sup> Cunningham, Report V, pp. 126–129.



this particular case a rate of  $1\frac{1}{2}$  feet per century. Had he paid greater attention to the strata of his finds — which in fact he had traced — the absurdity of dead-reckoning from the thicknesses of accumulation would have become apparent and the true principle of stratigraphy might have forced its way into his understanding. The apparent contradiction, for instance, of the stratum of red ashes representing one conflagration and yet spreading from the 15th to the 17th foot — an accumulation which according to his dictum should have represented a period of about 200 years — did not strike him as absurd. This is true again of the layer of two feet of ashes which he shows as spreading over the 30th to the 32nd foot.

Once again, near the end of his career, the principle of some sort of stratigraphy came almost within his grasp. This was when restoration work was being carried out in Bodh Gaya. The temple floor was completely dug up and this led to the dramatic revelation of several floors, one below the other, representing various periods of reconstruction datable from associated objects. In his report on Bodh Gayā<sup>1</sup> he talked about different floors, — Aśokan and others — and there was even some rudimentary attempt at correlating the ground level outside the temple with the floors inside and also an attempt to reconstruct the appearance of the site in different epochs. This was indeed a long stride forward, but it came too late in the day to have any lasting effect on the trend of his archaeology, for he was then about to leave the country.

One can only wonder now that, after so much searching, when the lost cities of India were actually found, it never occurred to him to uncover them as cities — an idea which would certainly have led him to a gradual realization of the concept of 'total excavation'. Certainly the question of resources does not fully explain this. The surprise becomes greater when we find him expressing in a letter to Grote, which was published in the *JASB* — and which is now certainly a document of exceptional interest — that he *did* in fact notice and recognize the straight streets of Taxila.<sup>2</sup> This is a fact that no-one will suspect from reading his reports only. What modern archaeologist could resist the temptation to follow through such an exciting clue by sustained excavation?

It would be interesting to know the reaction of his contemporaries to the sort of archaeology that he practised. The opinions of only

<sup>1</sup> *Mahābodhi*. London, 1892.

<sup>2</sup> *JASB.*, 1864, pp. 332 and 333.



a few of them can be recovered. There are stray hints that suggest that archaeological opinion both at home and abroad became restive as year after year he doled out the reports of his tours in the same casual manner, without proper sections, facsimiles and photographs. With the re-establishment of the Survey in 1870 Burgess had hoped that a 'new scientific departure was now practicable in Indian, such as had then taken place in Classical Archaeology'.<sup>1</sup> But he was soon disillusioned. About Cunningham's reports he concluded: 'They are essentially the reports of unconnected tours . . . and are not scientific, or reliable'.<sup>2</sup> Fergusson had long since expressed his dissatisfaction with the state of affairs in Indian archaeology. Bühler was impatiently hoping that 'thorough excavations' of the capitals like Taxila, Pāṭaliputra and Mathurā would be taken up. He thought 'really scientific excavations, as understood at present, which lay bare the whole of the monuments or sites to be explored, have been attempted only in very few places. . . . And all the monuments excavated belong . . . solely to the Buddhists, who were, as recent researches have shown more and more clearly, by no means the oldest nor the only important sect of Ancient India'.<sup>3</sup>

However, the critics of Cunningham had no clearer idea of the methods of contemporary European archaeology than had Cunningham himself. The meaning of their 'scientific archaeology' was very vague indeed and certainly the idea of stratigraphy formed no part of it. As late as 1899 Waddell in his Pāṭaliputra excavations noticed superimposed layers and talked of them in a mystified way in his report: 'As the important ruins of those ancient times are so deeply buried in the dust and rubbish of subsequent centuries, it is necessary to resort to excavation in order to recover their vestiges. This operation reveals the interesting fact, as in digging into the older peat-mosses in Europe, that there is a chronological stratification, where each generation has left its own record. This is specially evident in the fragments of pottery and bricks . . .'.<sup>4</sup>

What then is Cunningham's place among archaeologists? As Mariette was the 'father and founder' of the Department of Archaeology in Egypt, so was Cunningham of the Indian Archaeological

<sup>1</sup> 'Sketch of Archaeological Research in India during Half a Century', *JBBRAS.*, 1905, p. 140.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 141.

<sup>3</sup> 'Some Notes on Past and Future Archaeological Explorations in India', *JRAS.*, 1895, p. 655.

<sup>4</sup> *Report on the Excavations at Pataliputra (Patna)*. Calcutta, 1903, p. 27.

Survey. As Schliemann followed Pausanias so did Cunningham follow Hsüan Tsang and Fa-hsien. Like Rawlinson and Norris, he was a great decipherer of scripts. Like Raoul Rochette of France he was a great numismatist. But unfortunately the analogies end there, because none of his many-sided activities evolved into systems of study. Epigraphy had to wait for a Fleet, numismatics for a Rapson and excavations for a Marshall.

Yet, when all is said, the fact remains that the quality of what he did for Indian archaeology is impressive enough, and as regards its sheer quantity it has no equal. Perhaps his greatest contribution was the listing of the immense number of sites all over Northern India and particularly in areas hitherto unsuspected of antiquarian potentialities. The most important of these, that at once come to one's mind, are the wild tracts of the Vindhyan India and the areas covered by Malwa and Rajasthan. Even a casual reading of the *Corpus of the Inscriptions of India* convinces us of our great debt to him, as they show what a large number of these inscriptions he discovered and collected. These inscriptions, in their turn, when deciphered — many of them by Cunningham himself — helped to illumine many a dark corner of Indian history. The same is true about coins. He was one of the greatest collectors of all time and many new types and varieties were for the first time discovered by him. He provided us with the first chronological framework for the whole series of ancient Indian coins in his prolific numismatic papers in the *JASB* and the *Numismatic Chronicle*. He was perhaps the most travelled officer in India. In the course of his innumerable journeyings from end to end of Northern India, he came to know the country and its people intimately. Professor Codrington has aptly said that 'he learnt India by walking it'.<sup>1</sup> This knowledge gave him a peculiar insight into her history and society that others lacked.

Cunningham's fame is also thought to rest on his identifications of the ancient Indian sites and his elucidation of the geography of ancient India, which had baffled all the ingenuity that Jones and Wilford could muster. It has however to be remembered that attempts to elucidate this geography with reasonable success were going on much before he wrote his 'Geography' in 1870. We have already taken note of the magnificent efforts of Lassen, Wilson and V. St. Martin. After these attempts there was indeed very little

<sup>1</sup> *The Place of Archaeology in Indian Studies*, London, 1949, p. 8.

to be done except in one important respect. What was needed now was for someone to undertake arduous travels to visit all these places to search for evidence in confirmation of their guesses. And Cunningham performed precisely this useful task. However, to say that it was Cunningham who proposed the identifications of the most important cities of ancient India — as is done without questioning in standard publications — is historically wrong. Cunningham has to share the credit with Wilson, St. Martin and even Kittoe. For a hitherto unnoticed paper in the *JASB*<sup>1</sup> shows that Kittoe, in fact, had already proposed the identification of Bargaon with Nālandā.

It is also wrong to postulate a Cunningham period in Indian archaeology. It is the peculiar preponderance of Northern India in Indian historical researches that gives Cunningham perhaps a disproportionate importance. He never concerned himself with the tremendously vast field of epigraphy, numismatics, architecture and sculpture of the South, where such a large amount of fruitful work was being done by Fleet, Hultzsch, Kielhorn, Rea, Rice and Sewell. Also contemporarily with him great work was being done in the South, particularly in Western India, by his fellow Dumfriesshire man — Dr. Burgess, the mathematics teacher turned archaeologist. From 1873 he was put in charge of the Survey of Western India to which was added the South in 1881, and a few years later, after Cunningham's retirement, he became the Director-General.

Burgess retired in 1889. During a span of twenty years he produced as many royal quarto monographs on the antiquities of the West and the South.

Although Burgess was not an excavator — he did very few excavations — and his understanding of and insight into Indian history and archaeology were not as acute as Cunningham's, his methods in architecture and epigraphy were, perhaps, sounder than Cunningham's. If Cunningham had genius, Burgess had method. His reports were much better produced and much more systematic than those of Cunningham. Particularly the volumes in the New Imperial Series started by Burgess are models of their kind. He was the first archaeologist in India to make extensive use of the recently developed art of photography in his reporting. He realized the importance of specialized knowledge and scholarly co-operation and depended for his epigraphy and numismatics on experts. He

<sup>1</sup> 'Extract of a letter from Capt. Kittoe', *JASB.*, 1848, p. 539.

had vision and imagination enough to have been instrumental in the starting of the two journals that have played such a vital part in the development of Indian archaeology and history: the *Indian Antiquary* and the *Epigraphia Indica*, — journals that enabled a brilliant band of men, particularly in the field of epigraphy, to play their proper rôle — men like Bühler, Fleet, Hultzsch and Kielhorn, who by their researches changed the whole aspect of Indian archaeology and history.

Cunningham's true place in Indian archaeology had been accurately summed up long ago by Vogel. When speaking about Chamba, he wrote: 'Here, as elsewhere, the great *pioneer of Indian archaeology only demarcated the field, leaving to others its further exploration*'.<sup>1</sup> (The italics are mine.) He was indeed a pioneer and that is his greatest claim to recognition by posterity.

<sup>1</sup> *Antiquities of Chamba State*. New Imperial Series, Vol. XXXVI, Part I, Calcutta 1911, p. i.

# EGYPT AND THE CALIPHATE 1915-1946<sup>1</sup>

By ELIE KEDOURIE

IT IS COMMON knowledge that religion and politics in Islam are closely related, and that in this relationship, the prevalent mode has been for the man of the sword to dominate the man of the pen. This is so both in theory and practice: passive obedience to the ruler has been erected into a religious duty, while religious dignitaries, muftīs, qāḍīs, and such have been usually content to play the rôle of

an attendant lord, one that will do  
To swell a progress, start a scene or two,  
Advise the prince; no doubt an easy tool,  
Deferential, glad to be of use,  
Politick, cautious and meticulous;  
Full of high sentence, but a bit obtuse; . . .

No doubt the men of religion were compelled into this long-standing acquiescence by the unrelenting burden of capricious and exacting despotism, and if the burden were to be ever so slightly shifted, we might witness some stirrings, some attempt on their part to break loose from political dependence, or even — chimerical as this may sound — to assert the temporal primacy of religion over political authority. Some such spectacle confronts us when we consider the hiatus in Egyptian political history which runs from 1882 to 1952. In the first part of this period — which ended in 1919 — the British managed to establish a *Rechtsstaat* controlled by an efficient and upright bureaucracy, using their power to keep in check the despotic appetite of the local ruler and of his subordinates; whilst in the second part, British authority having been withdrawn and British preponderance destroyed, a confused situation ensued in which a number of contenders struggled for power, until the *coup d'état* of July 23, 1952 decided the issue and heralded a return to more habitual methods and practices. In both phases it was possible for men of religion to show initiative and enjoy unwonted freedom: in the first because the British, foreign and non-muslim rulers, were in no position — even had they desired it — closely to control their activity, while in the second, the sharp struggle between king and politicians afforded many opportunities for manoeuvre. Thus, Cromer's rule gave elbow room for Muḥammad 'Abduh's reforming activities and allowed him to stand up to an imperious and ambitious

<sup>1</sup> I am indebted to the Warden and Fellows of St. Antony's College, Oxford, for having made possible research in the U.S. National Archives on which this paper draws. I would also like to thank Dr. E. Taylor Parks of the Department of State, and the staff of the Foreign Affairs Branch of the National Archives, Washington, for indispensable help readily and generously given.



Khedive; while the period of constitutional monarchy, so-called, afforded some scope to Mustāfa al-Marāghī to play a part in the politics of the period, and even at one stage to exert quite considerable influence. As it happens, Marāghī's later career was deeply involved in the Caliphate question which in its last stages — between 1924 and 1939 — was an important issue in Egyptian internal and external politics.

Muḥammad Mustāfa al-Marāghī (1881-1945) was Chief Qāḍī in the Sudan from 1908 to 1919; between 1919 and 1928 he was successively Chief Inspector of the Religious Courts in Egypt, President of the Religious Court of First Instance, Member and then President of the Religious High Court. From August 1928 to October 1929, and again from 1935 until his death in 1945 he was Rector of al-Azhar.<sup>1</sup> It was during his first period of tenure at al-Azhar that he came much into the public view. His appointment came after a ten-month deadlock between King Fū'ād and his Ministry in consequence of a law of 1927 which had decreed that the Rector was to be appointed by the King on the advice of the Prime Minister. It is most probable that al-Marāghī was the nominee of the then Prime Minister, Muḥammad Maḥmūd; for they both hailed from Upper Egypt, and al-Marāghī then and later had close connexions with Muḥammad Maḥmūd's party, the Liberal Constitutionalists.<sup>2</sup> During his first, short, tenure of the Rectorship, al-Marāghī sponsored a bill which proposed many reforms in the structure and teaching of al-Azhar, but on Muḥammad Maḥmūd's loss of office, al-Marāghī was speedily dismissed. His successor was unmistakably the King's nominee, and the King took care to have the law amended so that the appointment should revert to being — what it had always been — solely in his gift.<sup>3</sup> Marāghī, having gone out under a cloud, remained in retirement for five years. In April 1935, following a long period of student strikes and disorders and as a consequence of a weakening in Fū'ād's

<sup>1</sup> There is a short and scrappy biography by Anwar al-Jundī, *al-Imām al-Marāghī*, no. 115 in the *Iqra'* series, Cairo, 1952.

<sup>2</sup> Shaikh al-Zawāhirī, Marāghī's rival and successor in 1929, states in his Memoirs that Marāghī's appointment in 1928 was against the King's wishes. But this does not necessarily mean that Fū'ād objected to Marāghī personally; more likely, he disliked giving an appointment to his Minister's nominee. See Fakhr al-Dīn al-Aḥmadī al-Zawāhirī, *al-Siyāsa wa'l-Azhar (Politics and al-Azhar)* Cairo, 1945, p. 55.

<sup>3</sup> See S. G. Haim "State and University in Egypt" in C. D. Harris and M. Horkheimer, eds., *Universität und Moderne Gesellschaft*, Frankfurt-am-Main, 1959.

political position, al-Zawāhirī, his nominee, was compelled to resign the Rectorship, and Marāghī entered on his second, much longer tenure. Fārūq's accession followed shortly after. Marāghī was appointed to give the King — still a minor — lessons in religious subjects and Arabic literature and history.<sup>1</sup> The connexion between Fārūq and Marāghī became — and remained — very close, and on the Friday following the Rector's death, his biographer records, the King bade the worshippers at his mosque to pray for the soul of "my friend Sheikh al-Marāghī".<sup>2</sup> It seems fair to say that if Marāghī started on his second tenure at al-Azhar as a Liberal Constitutionalist in politics, at odds with the Royal Palace, he ended it most definitely as a King's man. His political career in this respect exemplifies the rapid, confused, continuous changes in political allegiances which is a feature of Egypt's politics under the monarchy.

Marāghī's first recorded contact with the Caliphate issue occurs during the First World War, when he was Chief Qādī in Khartoum. In the first half of 1915 the possibility of an Anglo-Sharifian understanding was in the air, and Sir Reginald Wingate, the Governor General of the Sudan, who favoured it strongly, was canvassing Muslim opinion about the feasibility of the Sharif of Mecca replacing the Ottoman Sultan as Caliph. The 'ulamā perhaps out of a desire to please, perhaps out of genuine conviction, indicated to Wingate that the Sharif was in every way qualified for the Caliphate. Marāghī wrote a note (of which there does not seem to be a copy in the *Wingate Papers*) supporting this view. But then he intervened with another brief, but skilful and subtle contribution. He wrote a letter to Wingate which purported to set out authoritatively the Muslim doctrine about the Caliphate.<sup>3</sup> In this letter, Marāghī manages to throw doubt on the contention — highly favourable to the Sharif — that a Caliph had to be descended from the Prophet's tribe, Quraish. This condition he ascribes to historical accident, and he denies that it is unanimously accepted by the jurists. "It should not be forgotten", he says, to buttress his contention, "that

<sup>1</sup> *Oriente Moderno*, Rome, vol. XVI, 1936, p. 475, quoting *al-Ahrām* of 5 May 1936. The lessons were for three hours a week.

<sup>2</sup> Al-Jundī, pp. 116, 154.

<sup>3</sup> *Wingate Papers*, file 134/7, contains a translation made in Wingate's office, for the text of which see Appendix. I have not been able to trace the Arabic original. The letter is undated, but seems to have been written at the end of April or the beginning of May 1915. Al-Jundī, p. 112, erroneously calls the letter a *fatwa*. I am obliged to Mr. Richard Hill and the School of Oriental Studies in Durham University for access to the *Wingate Papers*.

the universal acknowledgement of all Mohammedans throughout the world to the Sultans of Turkey as Khalifs is a sufficient proof that they respect the latter opinion, i.e. that it is not necessary for the Khalifa to be a Kurashi". Even more remarkable, he equated Caliphate with secular kingship, and divine prescriptions with man-made laws: "... the question of the Khalifate" he writes, "is a purely worldly one and has certain connections and relations with religion. The Khalifa is in all respects a King who exercises over his subjects certain powers he derives from the Holy Books. Other Kings govern their subjects by laws enacted by productive brains." Marāghī recognized that this argument supported the legitimacy of the Ottoman Caliphate: "the appropriation by the sultans of Turkey of the title of Khalifa, is in no way contrary to the principles of the faith, although they are not from the tribe of Koreish"; but this did not mean that he himself approved of or recommended loyalty to the Ottoman Caliphate: "If the Mohammedans consider, as I am inclined to hold, that their faith has reaped no good from the Ottoman Khalifate, they are evidently the best judges as to whether the Ottoman Khalifate should be changed or not. They can very easily find an example in the deposition by the Turks of Sultan Abdul-Hamid and the appointment of his successor. Their reason in the step they have taken was that the country made no progress in the time of Abdul-Hamid. The Mohammedans can now decide on the situation from the actual conditions of the Empire under the new Khalifa."

Marāghī's letter, for all its moderate and judicious tone, for all its avoidance of open advocacy, is a remarkable example of special pleading. In his anxiety to minimise the importance of Quraishite descent, Marāghī gives the impression that this is a disputed question among the jurists. In fact, the consensus of the Muslim jurists holds that in a caliphate by election descent from Quraish is a necessary condition.<sup>1</sup> Admittedly, this is the case only in a caliphate by election,

<sup>1</sup> See, for instance, the exposition of the classical view by Muḥammad Rashīd Riḍa, printed in *al-Manār* Vol. XXIII, 1922, pp. 729-752, and translated in H. Laoust, *Le Califat dans la doctrine de Rashīd Riḍa*, Beirut, 1938, pp. 29-42, where the authorities are cited. Rashīd Riḍa wrote this article to refute the views of Maulana Abu'l Kalām Azad who, in defence of the Ottoman Caliphate, asserted that Quraishite descent was not necessary; see his treatise on the Caliphate published serially in translation in *al-Manār* vol. XXIII; his views on Quraishite descent are printed pp. 753 ff. When Rashīd Riḍa replied to Abu'l Kalām Azad he had fallen out with and was opposed to the claims of King Ḥusain. On the necessity for a Caliph to be a descendant from Quraish see the authoritative discussion in E. Tyan, *Institutions du Droit Public Musulman*, Vol. I, *Le Califat*, Paris, 1954. pp. 361-370.

when conditions make it possible to conform to all the rules and stipulations laid down by the doctors of the law, and a caliphate by election was of course a strictly bookish notion, a mere jurist's dream. Yet in undertaking to instruct Wingate *ex cathedra*, so to speak, Marāghī might have been expected to give its due weight to the traditional consensus. Another feature of Marāghī's letter was the manner in which he appealed now to history, and now to jurisprudence according to the needs of his argument. He says, and it is indeed true, that obedience to the Ottoman Caliphs, in spite of the fact that they were not of Quraishite descent, was lawful. But this was because, side by side with the caliph by election, the jurists had been compelled by circumstances to recognize a caliph by domination, whose claim to rule was enforced by the sword. Obedience to such a caliph was also a religious duty, on the ground that rule and religion are twins, and that civil order is a necessity. But the origins of such a caliph cannot be enquired into, his ability to rule is his sole credential, and obedience is equally due to his supplanter. Such a doctrine made due allowance for historical vicissitudes and safeguarded — by keeping it free from worldly taint — the hallowed notion of an elective caliphate. In the circumstances of 1915, there could be no question of the British Government encouraging or promoting a caliphate by domination, and yet Marāghī is found arguing that because Muslims have lawfully obeyed the Ottoman Caliph, who had established his dominion by the sword, therefore descent from Quraish was not necessary in a candidate to what could be, if anything, only a caliphate by election.

The implication of Marāghī's reasoning is obvious. Having poured cold water on the necessity of descent from Quraish, and having stated that Islam has reaped no good from the Ottoman Caliphate, he clearly left the door open for another candidate, who would benefit Islam, and who was yet not a descendant from Quraish. Nor do we have far to go to discover whom Marāghī had in mind. Discussing with Wingate his change of views since his earlier note which had supported the claims of the Sharif, he said that due consideration should be given to the claim of Egypt to the Caliphate. Egypt, in his view, was far more prepared to undertake such a burden than any other State, because she took the lead in religious education and had a vast number of highly educated and intelligent Muslims who could be entrusted with affairs of state.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Letter from Wingate to Cromer, 14 May 1915, *Wingate Papers*, file 134/6. Marāghī's earlier note in support of the Sharif is here said to have been dated 22 April.



We have no evidence to indicate whether Marāghī was acting on his own, or at somebody's suggestion, but we do know that Ḥusain Kāmil, the Sultan of Egypt, was not pleased with British encouragement of the Sharif. At the start of the Sharif's rebellion, Egyptian troops were sent as reinforcements to the Ḥijāz, and this drew a protest from Ḥusain Kāmil to Wingate who was then in charge of military operations in the Ḥijāz. The despatch of Egyptians to the Ḥijāz in order to fight the Turk, he wrote in a letter of 6 November 1916, "could not but leave a bad impression on public opinion in the Country. As the news becomes known, opinion will wonder what interest Egypt has in waging war in order to help establish an independent Arab Kingdom".<sup>1</sup> The Sultan was not only concerned over the internal repercussions of Egyptian troops fighting Ottoman in the Ḥijāz, he also despised the Sharif, and thought that Egypt was much more entitled than him to succeed to Turkey's primacy in the Islamic world. He hoped, so wrote Wingate to Lord Hardinge on 17 April 1917, to see Cairo, already a great centre of Islamic teaching, as one of the most, if not the most important, Islamic centre in the world; he therefore disliked the Sharif's movement and the generous support the British were giving it. He described the Sharif's entourage in Mecca as *canaille* and doubted whether the Sharif would ever be able to control Arabian potentates such as Ibn Sa'ūd.<sup>2</sup> It may even be that the Sultan actively promoted his own claims to the Caliphate: we gather this from a passing reference in a letter from Fū'ād al-Khaṭīb, the Deputy Foreign Minister of the Ḥijāz to Fārūqī, the Sharif's Agent in Cairo, which speaks of the Sultan's intentions regarding the Caliphate, and of his having supporters spreading his appeal;<sup>3</sup> also, from a memorandum by Sir Ronald Graham of 2 March 1917 in which he writes that the Sultan had been recently informed that he should not aspire to the Caliphate. Graham went on to say that Egyptians considered the Sharif a Beduin chief, and to them Beduins were simply nomadic robbers: the prospect of the Sharif as Caliph was to the Egyptians what to his contemporaries would have been the prospect of Friar Tuck as Archbishop of Canterbury.<sup>4</sup> Sultan Fuad held the same

<sup>1</sup> *Wingate Papers*, file 153/6.

<sup>2</sup> *Wingate Papers*, file 153/8.

<sup>3</sup> Letter from Fū'ād al-Khaṭīb to Muhammad Sharif al Fārūqī, 14 Muharram 1335 H./10 November 1916, in translation in *Wingate Papers* file 143A/1.

<sup>4</sup> *Documents Collected for the Information of the Special Mission Appointed to Enquire into the Situation in Egypt*, Vol. I, p. 155. Princeton University Library has a set of the *Documents*.



views and pursued the same ambitions as his predecessor, Ḥusain Kāmil. One of his motives in supporting Zaghlūl was his suspicion that if Egypt were the Protectorate of a Christian State, she could never hope to have the primacy in Islam. He was, said Wingate in a telegram of 26 December 1918, extremely jealous of the King of the Ḥijāz, and he did not hide his displeasure at the encouragement which the British lavished on Ḥusain.<sup>1</sup>

The Caliphate question became acute in 1924. In March, the Turks abolished the Ottoman Caliphate and sent the last Caliph into exile. Thereupon, the King of the Ḥijāz hastened to have himself proclaimed Caliph, basing himself — so he claimed — on the suffrages of the faithful in Palestine, Syria, Iraq and Transjordan. But Ḥusain's presumed election settled nothing; it was patently farcical, and had no relation to the realities of the Islamic world. Fū'ād for one could not be expected to acquiesce in Ḥusain's mock Caliphate. To the United States Minister who questioned him about newspaper reports which stated that he had been offered the Caliphate he said that he "would not entertain for a moment the thought of accepting this position". He disapproved of the abolition of the Ottoman Caliphate, and was bitter and contemptuous about other likely candidates. He suspected Mustāfa Kamāl of aspiring to the office, but was quite sure he would not obtain it. Of the King of the Ḥijāz, he said "I regard him also as an impossible person for this place. He probably will have the support of his own little country and its comparatively few people" and the support of his sons, the King of Iraq and the Amir of Transjordan, together with that of the Arabs of Palestine.<sup>2</sup> It would seem that Fū'ād also more than once strenuously denied any interest in the Caliphate to Zaghlūl who was then Prime Minister.<sup>3</sup> But such denials were made to seem highly formal by his own and his supporters' extensive and determined activity. As soon as the Turkish action became known, letters and articles appeared in the press advocating an Egyptian Caliphate.<sup>4</sup> At the same time, a gathering of 'ulamā which took place at the house of an ex-prime minister, Muḥammad Sa'id Pasha, discussed the abolition of the Ottoman Caliphate and one of them

<sup>1</sup> Op. cit., Vol. II, p. 54.

<sup>2</sup> Despatch from Cairo, March 11, 1924, no. 867.404/79.

<sup>3</sup> Ahmad Shafiq Pasha, *Hauliyyāt Misr al-Siyyāsiyya, al-hauliyya al-thālitha, 1926 (Annual Political Survey of Egypt, Third Survey, 1926)*, Cairo, 1929, pp. 149-50.

<sup>4</sup> Translations and reports from the Arabic Press in the *Egyptian Gazette*, 8 March 1924, enclosed with the despatch cited above.

said: "Why should the Caliphate not go to King Fū'ād? We have but to assemble the 'ulamā of Egypt and they will elect him and give him their suffrages (*yubāyi 'ūnahu*), and the Caliphate will thus come to belong to the King of Egypt." Aḥmad Shafīq Pasha, who recounts the episode, goes on to say that the suggestion was conveyed to the King who turned it down.<sup>1</sup> This however was not the end of the matter, for on 25 March, the chief religious dignitaries of Egypt (among whom Marāghī was included) issued a long statement declaring that Muslims were no longer bound to obey the deposed Ottoman Caliph and that the office was vacant; they invited the Muslims to send representatives to Cairo in a year's time "to designate the new Caliph".<sup>2</sup>

The speed with which these religious dignitaries acted was remarkable. It is not likely that the initiative was theirs. In a letter to Shakīb Arslān dating from the latter part of 1925, Rashīd Riḍā stated that the 'ulamā issued their official declaration "only after having ascertained the feeling of 'Abdīn Palace on the matter".<sup>3</sup> Rashīd Riḍā may be taken to have been well-informed on this question not only because he was generally well-informed on Islamic matters but also because he seems to have taken part in the propaganda which was then started in Egypt in order to advance Fū'ād's claim to the Caliphate. The first number of a periodical which described itself as dedicated to the promotion of a Caliphate Congress in Egypt, opened with an article by Rashīd Riḍā extolling the benefits of Islamic unity and harshly attacking King Ḥusain — who had been proclaimed Caliph in parts of the Arab world and who had subsequently had to abdicate his rule in the Ḥijāz in favour of his son 'Alī — as the despot (*tāghūt*) of the Ḥijāz who had falsely claimed to exercise kingship over all the Arabs and the Caliphate over all the Muslims and whose designs God had defeated by stripping him of his alleged authority, and leaving him cut off from the community, abandoned, hated and execrated.<sup>4</sup> It is an

<sup>1</sup> *Hauliyyāt . . . , First Survey, 1924*, Cairo, 1928, pp. 118-19.

<sup>2</sup> *Revue du Monde Musulman*, Vol. LXIV, 1926, pp. 29-33, where the statement is translated in full.

<sup>3</sup> Shakīb Arslān, *Al-Sayyid Rashīd Riḍā . . .*, Damascus, 1938, p. 367.

<sup>4</sup> *Majallat al-mū'tamar al-islāmī al-'āmm li'l khilāfa fi mīsr* (Review of the General Islamic Congress for the Caliphate in Egypt) No. 1, October 1924, pp. 3-12. Rashīd Riḍā's epithets for the fallen Ḥusain are: "*madh'ūman, madhūran, ma'fūnan, mathbūran, manbūdhan, mahjūran*." 'Abd al Mut'āl al-Ṣa'īdi, *Al-Mujaddidūn fi'l Islām . . .* (Reformers in Islam . . .), Cairo, n.d. [after 1952], states, p. 542, that Rashīd Riḍā responded favourably to Fū'ād's ambition to be Caliph.

interesting sign of Rashīd Riḍā's soundness as an Islamic scholar that even though he had a consuming hatred for Ḥusain, he yet did not allow himself to go against the tradition, and the consensus of the jurists, and to argue that Quraishite descent is not necessary in a Caliph. The farthest he goes is to quote Ibn Jubair, a traveller not a jurist, to the effect that people have not seldom preferred a Kurdish Sultan to a Quraishite Caliph because of the greater equity of his rule.

Rashīd Riḍā's letter to Shakīb Arslān is not the only evidence that Fū'ād was behind the agitation to proclaim him Caliph. In March 1927 the (Wafdist) Minister of Pious Foundations, Muḥammad al-Gharāblī Pasha was asked in the Egyptian Parliament to explain a payment of £2,500 made to the Rector of al-Azhar in five instalments during 1924. The Minister replied that the Rector had asked for the money in order to cover a deficiency in the budget of the Religious Institutions, but that subsequently it appeared that the money was spent on the Caliphate Congress.<sup>1</sup> The answer was probably meant to, and it did create an uproar. The Rector of al-Azhar and other Shaikhs were harshly attacked for their irregular financial proceedings. This was a Wafdist parliament's way of indirectly attacking King Fū'ād and his ambitions, and to one member it appeared unfair that the Rector and his fellows should be made the vehicle for such indirect attacks. Fikrī Abāza declared that the matter was important and required frankness in its treatment: "You all know" he said, "that at that time the royal *entourage* — and misfortunes always come from the *entourage* — thought that an august will desired the Caliphate. In 1924 and in 1925, sums were being spent quickly and without the proper procedure at the Ministry of Pious Foundations. On what basis of equity and law", he asked, "can we justify the displeasure we are manifesting towards the Rector, whilst the heads [i.e. the principals] are still there, and unaccountable to anyone?"<sup>2</sup> Stung by these attacks, the purpose of which was all too clear, a Palace-inspired newspaper wrote: "Let us face the real facts; the present Minister of Wakfs [Pious Foundations] — Muhammad Gharabli Pasha — is the same minister of Wakfs who received the Chancellor's [the Azhar Rector's] letter on March 31, 1924 and ordered the money to be paid to him. He was then a member of the Zaghlul Ministry. Why did he not ask the Sheikh what he wanted the money for, if the Government at

<sup>1</sup> *Ḥauliyyāt . . . , Fourth Survey, 1927, Cairo, 1928, p. 60.*

<sup>2</sup> *Al-Manār*, Vol. XXVIII, 1927-8, pp. 319-20, quoting Fikrī Abāza's speech.

that time did not know it was to be spent on the Caliphate Congress? Especially as the Chancellor of the Azhar declared in his demand that the amount should not be put in the Budget of the Theological Administration?"<sup>1</sup> The agitation against the Rector of al-Azhar however continued; there was a demand in Parliament for him to be investigated and even to be made to refund the money. The Rector then visited the Prime Minister and, so reported the *Egyptian Gazette* of 16 May 1927, showed him a letter from the Ministry of Pious Foundations, itself suggesting a procedure by which money could be drawn to cover the expenses of the Congress, without such an object appearing openly. The agitation seems to have died down thereafter. It was no doubt equally inconvenient to both sides — though for different reasons — then to make the point that as the law stood from 1924 to 1927, the King, by virtue of article 153 of the Constitution, had control over the budget of the Religious Institutions. We may safely assume, therefore, that official monies were spent on the Caliphate Congress not only in 1924, but also in 1925 and in 1926 when the Congress at last took place.

There is still further evidence of Fū'ād's interest in the Caliphate. In March 1924 when the Congress was first mooted, the Under-Secretary in the Ministry of Pious Foundations was Hasan Nash'at. Nash'at was not a Wafdist, but rather a King's man, one of those whom Zaghlūl agreed to take into his ministry, presumably in exchange for the King's support in the elections of 1923.<sup>2</sup> Shortly after the abolition of the Ottoman Caliphate, it became clear that Nash'at was promoting an Egyptian Caliphate: "He used", writes Aḥmad Shafīq Pasha, "to take trips to Tanṭā and meet the 'ulamā there. Then he would go to Alexandria and other cities where meetings with 'ulamā could be arranged. Thereupon committees sprang up in those places known as Caliphate committees".<sup>3</sup> When relations between Fū'ād and Zaghlūl worsened, Nash'at was used, so the Wafdists were convinced, to stir up the Azhar against the Wafd Government. In October, Zaghlūl had a showdown with Fū'ād and obtained, among other things, that Nash'at should leave his Government. Nash'at then became acting head of the Royal Cabinet and the King's general agent and *factotum* in the country until he was dismissed in 1926 at Lord Lloyd's instance. While

<sup>1</sup> *Egyptian Gazette*, 1 April 1927, translating article in *al-Ittihad* newspaper.

<sup>2</sup> See E. Kedourie, "Sa'ad Zaghlul and the British" in *St. Antony's Papers XI*, 1961, p. 159.

<sup>3</sup> *Ḥawliyyāt . . . , First Survey, 1924*, p. 119.



in this post his word was supreme, as the Liberal Constitutionalist leader, 'Abd al 'Aziz Fahmī complained, in the Ministries of Pious Foundations, of War and of Foreign Affairs, that is, precisely in those departments where the King, according to the Constitution, had the final say in appointments, promotions and expenditure.<sup>1</sup> We may presume that such great influence was not left unused at a time when the King entertained and caressed the dream of the Caliphate.

The only overt official action which indicated Fū'ād's stand on the Caliphate was the manner in which Egypt fell out with the King of the Hījāz. As is well-known, the rulers of Egypt have been accustomed since the thirteenth century to send to Mecca every year during the pilgrimage season "for the sake of state" and "as an emblem of royalty",<sup>2</sup> the luxurious empty litter carried by a fine camel, known as the *maḥmal*. Ḥusain objected to the *maḥmal* sent in 1924 and ordered the name of Fū'ād removed from the covering on which it was embroidered. His reason was that putting on the name of the King in this manner was "an innovation without precedent" and that the covering should be devoid of any "political symbol or personal emblem". The Egyptian officer commanding the escort of the *maḥmal* protested and made a military demonstration in front of the royal palace in Mecca, and relations between the two countries were severed.<sup>3</sup> Ḥusain seems to have been justified in considering the appearance of Fū'ād's name an innovation, for the custom apparently was, at any rate since Egypt became part of the Ottoman Empire, that only the cipher of the Ottoman Sultan should appear on the covering;<sup>4</sup> a change of this nature, in these particular circumstances, was significant and Ḥusain could be expected to resist it.

The propaganda in favour of Fū'ād's Caliphate went on throughout the year following the declaration of the *'ulamā* in March 1924. Such propaganda must have been extensive and effective, since

<sup>1</sup> *Ḥauliyyāt . . . , Second Survey, 1925, Cairo, 1928, pp. 1053-5 and 916-18.*

<sup>2</sup> The phrases are E. W. Lane's, see *The Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians*, Everyman's Library ed., pp. 445-6. See also article "Maḥmal" in *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, and Jacques Jomier, O.P., *Le Maḥmal*, Cairo, 1953.

<sup>3</sup> *Ḥauliyyāt . . . , First Survey, 1924, p. 300.* The other bone of contention related to the Egyptian medical mission which it was customary to send with the pilgrims. Ḥusain forbade them to attend to the sick, even though they were Egyptian. Himself a man of overweening ambition, he may have considered such a mission a reflection on Hījāzī facilities and an easy pretext to diminish and humiliate him.

<sup>4</sup> Lane, p. 444.



we find such an experienced political operator as Zaghlūl confessing in 1926 that he was afraid that public opposition to an Egyptian Caliphate would harm his electoral prospects.<sup>1</sup> As a specimen of such propaganda we may consider the articles contributed by Shaikh Muḥammad Faraj al-Minyāwī to the *Review of the General Islamic Congress for the Caliphate in Egypt*. In the first number of the *Review* the Shaikh enumerated the advantages of holding the Islamic Congress in Egypt. "Egypt", he wrote, "has a long history of learning and civilization. It is a country where peace and tranquillity reign. It was and still is one of the greatest of Islamic states in point of progress, civilization, riches and prosperity. Further, in some periods Egypt's place in the scale of learning was so high that it became the cynosure of learned and wise men . . . There is no other Islamic state in the world which has done as much as Egypt in protecting the language of the *Qur'ān* and in defending Islamic Law". Egypt, again, had a central geographical position and was fortunate in possessing the Azhar. From the tone of these eulogies we may conclude that more was involved than the mere venue of a congress. In an article in the following number the Shaikh discussed some suggestions, which he claimed had been made in India to the effect that Egypt and India should cover the public expenditure of the Hijāz and defend it against foreign intrigues and attacks. "It is", said the Shaikh, "as though the Indian people wishes in this way to charge Egypt, as the nearest independent Islamic state, with responsibility for the Hijāz, in point of expenditure and protection. In fact", he continued, "the Kingdom of Egypt has been alone for a long time in providing for the sustenance of the Hijāz, out of the revenue of its pious foundations, and out of the great sums donated to the Hijāzis by the occupant of the throne".<sup>2</sup>

The views which the Shaikh so confidently ascribed to the Indian people were somewhat off the mark. For as time went on, it became increasingly clear that Fū'ād's ambitions were arousing opposition. India, in particular, by no means showed enthusiasm for Fū'ād's cause. The Indian Muslim community was shocked and disoriented by the Turkish action; its traditional loyalty went to the Ottoman Sultan, as the *Khilafat* agitation had shown only a year or two before. If the Caliphate were now to be made the object of discussion, the Indian Muslims were sure to bring to the fore

<sup>1</sup> Muḥammad Ḥusain Haikal, *Memoirs . . .*, Vol. 1, Cairo, 1951, p. 258.

<sup>2</sup> *Majallat al-mū'tamar . . .*, No. 1, October 1924, p. 19 and No. 2, November 1924, p. 48.

the claims of 'Abd al-Majīd whom the Turks had so sacrilegiously deposed and expelled. As regards the Arabic-speaking countries, it is true that Ḥusain, who has been proclaimed Caliph in March 1924, found himself at the end of the year devoid of Kingdom and Caliphate, a pensioner of his son 'Abdullah and then of the British Government; but there was no reason to expect that his sons and their following in Iraq and the Levant would joyfully proclaim their allegiance to an Egyptian Caliph. Neither was this to be expected from Ibn Sa'ūd, the supplanter of the Hashimites in the Hījāz. Whatever his original attitude, by the time he had conquered the Hījāz, Ibn Sa'ūd was greatly opposed to Fū'ād's pretensions.<sup>1</sup> Another incident involving the *maḥmal* in 1926 and resulting in bloodshed embroiled him with Egypt which, for ten years, until Fū'ād's death, refused to recognize the Sa'ūdi Arabian Kingdom. It is possible that the conquest of the Hījāz inspired Ibn Sa'ūd with the ambition to acquire the Caliphate, but this is doubtful considering the known unpopularity in the Islamic world of his Wahhābī creed. But there was no reason why he should acknowledge Fū'ād as his superior. We have a record of his views in 1931 which cannot have been much different from those he held in 1926. In August of that year, the Syrian notable 'Adil Arslān informed the American Legation in Egypt that Ibn Sa'ūd had told him "that he himself had no pretensions to the Caliphate and that if he had had there would have been no reason for him not to have declared himself Caliph when he proclaimed himself King of the Hejaz, Nejd and its Dependencies . . . On the other hand, he could not be expected to second the aspirations of other claimants, such as King Fu'ad since the question was one which concerned the Moslem religious world as a whole rather than any one country and he shared the prevailing opinion held by Moslem religious leaders that the re-opening of the question of the Caliphate was calculated to breed dissensions in the Moslem world of a character disadvantageous to the interests of Islam".<sup>2</sup> So much then for Fū'ād's hopes in this quarter of the Islamic world. As for the rest, it was better to leave Turkey out of the reckoning; Persia was schismatic; the Maghreb was on the whole *terra incognita*, and Morocco's ruling dynasty, in particular, claimed Quraishite descent; and Indonesia,

<sup>1</sup> Muḥammad Ḥusain Haikal, op. cit. Vol. I, pp. 402 and 231, says that initially Ibn Sa'ūd was favourable to Fū'ād's views, but that when he conquered the Hījāz, he began increasingly to oppose them.

<sup>2</sup> Despatch from the U.S. Minister, Bulkeley, August 20, 1931, No. 883.00/711.

as we learn from a letter of Shakīb Arslān's, was divided on the issue: some of the muslims of Java, he wrote to Rashīd Riḍā on the first day of 1925, expected nothing good to come out of the Congress in Egypt, some intended to protest against an Egyptian Caliphate, and most of them wanted the Caliph to be in Mecca.<sup>1</sup> It was no doubt because opposition from so many quarters showed itself, and because they had little hope of overcoming it within the year, that the Rector of al-Azhar and his colleagues (who had constituted themselves as the administrative board of the forthcoming Islamic Congress) decided in January 1925 that the Congress had better be deferred for a further year.<sup>2</sup> In the event, it was not until May 1926 that the Congress assembled.

Opposition to Fū'ād showed itself not only outside, but inside Egypt as well. The nature of this opposition is described in a nutshell by Rashīd Riḍā: "Two groups of writers and journalists", he wrote, "manifested opposition to and criticism of [the call for a Congress]. The first consisted of a number of heretics and atheists . . . ; the second, of those who believe that the partisans of the Congress among the grand 'ulamā and others want to establish the Caliphate in Egypt . . . The newspapers of the Wafd or Sa'dist party are at one with *al-Siyyāsa* newspaper [the Liberal Constitutionalist organ] in denouncing the holding of this Congress in Egypt, and in denying the competence of the religious dignitaries to call for it; these newspapers are also agreed that the establishment of the Caliphate in Egypt would harm, and would not benefit her."<sup>3</sup> Opposition inside Egypt declared itself almost as soon as the Ottoman Caliphate was abolished. In a newspaper article, the publicist Maḥmūd 'Azmi, who then had Liberal Constitutionalist leanings, forcefully rejected the idea of proclaiming Fū'ād Caliph and declared his disapproval of the article in the Egyptian Constitution which established Islam as the official religion of the State.<sup>4</sup> Maḥmūd 'Azmi's secularist views may put him in Rashīd Riḍā's first category, namely the heretics and the godless. Opposition which was more clearly political, was expressed by Zaghlūl and his Wafdist colleagues.

<sup>1</sup> Shakīb Arslān, op. cit., p. 352.

<sup>2</sup> *Revue du Monde Musulman*, Vol. LXIV, pp. 34-36, for the text of the statement. The 'ulamā alleged elections in Egypt, disturbances in the Hijāz, and the necessity to reach closer understanding among muslims as reasons for the delay.

<sup>3</sup> *Al-Manār*, Vol. XXVI, 1926, pp. 790-1.

<sup>4</sup> Article in *al-Mahrūsa* newspaper, translated in the *Egyptian Gazette* of 8 March, 1924, enclosed with the U.S. Minister's despatch no. 867.404/79 cited above.

It seems that when the question of the Caliphate was first mooted, Zaghlūl went to Fū'ād and asked him whether he wanted the Caliphate. Since it would have been fatal to his hopes to indicate officially that he wanted the Caliphate, Fū'ād could not but express his lack of interest, and this no doubt suited Zaghlūl, for he was not likely to welcome the great increase in prestige and power which Fū'ād would obtain by becoming Caliph, and the King's denial would enable him to use, in seeming good faith, official influence in order to oppose and counteract the activities of the Caliphate committees which Fū'ād was secretly supporting; we learn, in fact, that his Minister of the Interior, Faṭḥullah Barakāt, issued orders to his subordinates in the provinces forbidding them to have anything to do with Caliphate committees.<sup>1</sup> Government and Palace in 1924 were, it is clear, ranged in a secret contest against one another.

Zaghlūl seems to have been even prepared to encourage other candidates in order to defeat Fū'ād's ambitions. At the beginning of 1924, when Mustāfa Kamāl was contemplating the abolition of the Ottoman Caliphate, presumably in order to soften the blow inside and outside Turkey, he appears to have offered Turkey's support to Shaikh Aḥmad al-Sanūsī (d. 1933) if he were to agree to become a "spiritual" Caliph, a Muslim Pope, with a seat outside Turkey. The Shaikh then refused the offer, but it was renewed a year or so later, when he seems to have become tempted by it. In January 1925, he sent his private secretary to the United States High Commissioner in Constantinople to acquaint him with the new development, who stated that the Shaikh seemed assured of his election as Caliph since he had the support of — among others — Ibn Sa'ūd, the Imam Yahya, and Zaghlūl Pasha, whilst his only opponents were Fū'ād and the ex-King of the Ḥijāz together with his sons.<sup>2</sup>

The Wafdists were not the only political party opposed to an Egyptian Caliphate. The Liberal Constitutionalists were as vehement. Partly because Fū'ād's manœuvres in internal politics during 1923 had estranged them, partly because they mistrusted his appetite for power, and partly because their intellectual leaders such as

<sup>1</sup> *Hauliyyāt . . . , Third Survey, 1926*, pp. 149-50 and *Second Survey, 1925*, p. 1055.

<sup>2</sup> Despatch from U.S. High Commissioner, Admiral Mark Bristol, Constantinople, 23 January, 1925, no. 867.00/1844. See also the Shaikh's obituary in *al-Manār*, Vol. XXXIII, 1933, where it is also stated, p. 134, that he had been offered the spiritual Caliphate.

Lutfī al-Sayyid and Ḥusain Haikal preached a doctrine of strict constitutionalism, the Liberal Constitutionalists publicly adopted towards the Caliphate question the same posture as the Wafd. Their organ, *al-Siyyāsa*, took its stand on strict constitutional propriety by arguing that since article 47 of the Constitution forbade the King to acquire, without parliamentary authority, a plurality of dominions, Fū'ād could not accept the Caliphate without the sanction of the Parliament.<sup>1</sup> The consequences of such a view, had it been put to the test, are curious, since it meant that the Egyptian Parliament, a secular, non-denominational body, had ultimate authority to institute — and depose — the Caliph of all the Muslims.

But an even more radical view was to emerge from Liberal Constitutionalists ranks. In the early summer of 1925, when speculation about the Caliphate was at its highest, 'Alī 'Abd al-Rāziq, a divine and a judge in the Religious Courts, the brother of Maḥmud Pasha 'Abd al-Rāziq, one of the Liberal Constitutionalist leaders, published his famous tract on *Islam and the Foundations of Authority*<sup>2</sup> in which he argued that the Caliphate was not properly part of Islam, and its institution not therefore a religious duty. The argument is so novel, both theologically and historically, that it could easily and with considerable justification be denounced as a heresy. In emptying the Caliphate of its sacral quality, in approximating it to secular kingship, 'Alī 'Abd al-Rāziq, it is interesting to note, was following, albeit in a more extreme fashion, the line of thought to be discerned in Marāghī's memorandum of 1915. Marāghī's memorandum, however, was written in support of an Egyptian Caliphate, while 'Alī 'Abd al-Rāziq's tract could not but constitute an attack on Fū'ād's ambitions. One wonders if, under a studiously academic disguise, this was not the real purpose of the book, and that which determined its timing, and also whether there would have been any official outcry if the tract, boldly controversial as it was, had furthered, instead of hindering the designs of the King. For outcry there was: 'Alī 'Abd al-Rāziq was summoned before a tribunal of *'ulamā*, convicted of holding unsound opinions and deprived of his status as a doctor of religion. It seems to have been generally known at the time that political considerations influenced the trial and conviction, and that Fū'ād's ambitions determined the issue. 'Alī

<sup>1</sup> *Hauliyyāt . . . , Third Survey, 1926*, p. 107 quoting *al-Siyyāsa* of 2 February, 1926.

<sup>2</sup> Translated into French: "L'Islam et les Bases du Pouvoir" in *Revue des Etudes Islamiques*, Vols. VII and VIII, 1933 and 1934, pp. 353-91 and 163-232.



'Abd al-Rāziq himself, at any rate, did not hesitate after the trial, to attack the propaganda for an Egyptian Caliphate which he said was carried out by slaves and people who had no will of their own.<sup>1</sup> Ahmad Shafiq Pasha stated, in the final volume of his *Memoirs* that one of the reasons of the harsh treatment to which 'Alī 'Abd al-Rāziq was subject was "the appearance of this book at a time when a semi-official committee had been formed in Egypt to inquire into the Caliphate and endeavour to realize it [*sic*]". He and some of his friends drafted a petition to the King asking him to intercede on behalf of 'Alī 'Abd al-Rāziq; the petition — which was not sent — was to include a reference to the Caliphate and a statement to the effect that Egypt deserved the office better than any other Islamic state, and that 'Alī 'Abd al-Rāziq did not intend by his book to call for a republic.<sup>2</sup>

When *Islam and the Foundations of Authority* appeared, Muḥammad Ḥusain Haikal reviewed it favourably in *al-Siyyāsa* of which he was the Editor. When the 'ulamā attacked the book and announced their intention to try its author, *al-Siyyāsa* vehemently took up his defence, and denied the competence and authority of the religious doctors to try and condemn the expression of opinion. The first volume of Haikal's *Memoirs*, where the episode is related, appeared in 1951 when Egypt was still a monarchy and a certain reticence is visible in the author's treatment of these events, but he does hint that the trial took place at the instigation of the Royal Palace. For he says that the 'ulamā derived the power to try and sentence 'Alī 'Abd al-Rāziq from article 101 of the Constitution which left unchanged, until further notice, the laws and regulations governing the administration of religious establishments, thus removing them from the control of Parliament: this provision, he then became convinced, was introduced into the Constitution in order to preserve

<sup>1</sup> Report in *al-Siyyāsa* newspaper, 12 March 1926, quoted in *Hauliyyāt . . .*, *Third Survey*, 1926, pp. 148-9.

<sup>2</sup> *A'mālī ba'd mudhakkirātī*, Cairo, 1941, pp. 181-2. The reference to a republic is interesting. The tribunal did not deal with this issue, confining itself to purely theological and academic points, but Shaikh Yūsuf al-Dijwī, a member of the Areopagus of the Grand 'Ulamā, who had instigated the trial, in an attack on the book accused 'Alī 'Abd al-Rāziq of desiring to destroy the monarchy and to promote rebellion by telling the reader that religion does not forbid it while, in fact, it is considered one of the greatest of sins; "if the Government understood the real purpose of the book", he wrote, "they would be the first to combat it". This is probably the nearest that any of 'Alī 'Abd al-Rāziq's opponents came to say or hint publicly that the tract had some connection with current Egyptian politics; see al-Dijwī's *al-Islām wa uṣūl al-ḥukm wa'l radd 'alayhī* (*Islam and the Foundations of Authority and its Refutation*), Cairo, n.d., pp. 59 and 121-3.

"the absolute authority of the Palace" over the men of religion.<sup>1</sup>

The cause of 'Alī 'Abd al-Rāziq was thus to some extent publicly identified with the Liberal Constitutionalist cause; it became wholly so as a result of the trial. When the *'ulamā* sentenced 'Alī 'Abd al-Rāziq to be deprived of his qualifications as a doctor of religion, they applied to the secular arm to dismiss him from his judicial office. The secular arm in question was the Minister of Justice, and the Minister happened then to be 'Abd al-'Azīz Pasha Fahmī, the President of the Liberal Constitutionalists who, with two other members of his Party, had accepted office in a coalition with King's men (styling themselves the Union Party) in a ministry formed by Zīwar Pasha when Zaghlūl resigned from office after Sir Lee Stack's murder in 1924. 'Abd al-'Azīz Fahmī now faced an awkward dilemma. 'Alī 'Abd al-Rāziq's family was one of the pillars of his Party, his cause — the cause of the freedom of expression, and that of the secular state — was one which the Liberal Constitutionalists were ostensibly dedicated to uphold. To give in to the demand of the *'ulamā* would have constituted for 'Abd al-'Azīz Fahmī a grave breach of his principles, and he happened to be, what is so rare in Egyptian politics, emphatically a man of principle. Yet, there was no doubt that the Palace, and the majority of his colleagues, who were obedient to the Palace, expected him to dismiss 'Alī 'Abd al-Rāziq forthwith. He tried to gain time by procrastinating; he formed a committee of civil servants to examine the issue and to report whether the Minister was bound by a decision of the *'ulamā's* tribunal. But he was urgently pressed to dismiss 'Alī 'Abd al-Rāziq, and when he still delayed, he himself was summarily dismissed, and 'Alī Māhir took his place, who deferred to the wishes of the Palace. The episode again illustrates the close connexion in Egypt under the constitutional monarchy between so-called religious and so-called secular issues. The publicist al-'Aqqād, writing of this incident in 1936, said that the Unionists, i.e. the King's men, wanted on the one hand to punish a man who obstructed the King's efforts to secure the Caliphate, and on the other, to embarrass the Liberal Constitutionalists and force them to leave the Ministry.<sup>2</sup> Whether or not the second design was as premeditated as the first, the fact remains that the Union Party, organized and directed by Hasan Nash'at Pasha from the Palace, thought it useful to disseminate a

<sup>1</sup> Haikal, op. cit., Vol. I, pp. 232-3 and 165-6.

<sup>2</sup> 'Abbās Mahmud al-'Aqqād, *Sa'd Zaghlūl*, Cairo, 1936, p. 480.

pamphlet containing the text of the judgement against 'Alī 'Abd al-Rāziq:<sup>1</sup> we may presume that one purpose of such a pamphlet was to tar with the brush of heresy any supporter or defender of Shaikh 'Alī, and since the Wafd did not choose to defend him, because this would have been to help their rivals the Liberal Constitutionalists, only the latter Party could with a semblance of truth be denounced to the country as the source of heresy and irreligion.

The much-heralded Congress to choose the Caliph met in Cairo from 13 to 19 May 1926. But the reasons which had led to its postponement in 1925 had not disappeared, had, if anything, intensified. In Egypt itself, opposition to Fū'ād's ambitions appeared even among the men of religion who might have been expected to be quite obedient to royal wishes. Sympathy with 'Alī 'Abd al-Rāziq in his persecution at the hands of the Palace, or Wāhhābī leanings encouraged by supporters of Ibn Sa'ūd in Egypt may have been the cause. In any case, in January 1926 the Government is found busy investigating some forty 'ulamā in al-Azhar who had signed a petition to the effect that Egypt was not fit to be the centre of the Caliphate. A little later, news transpires of a group calling itself the Group of the Islamic Caliphate (*Jamā'at al-khilāfa al-islāmiyya*), led by a Shaikh Muḥammad Māḍi abu'l-'Azāyim agitating for the Congress to be held in Mecca not Cairo; and Shaikh abu'l-'Azāyim himself is found leading an "unofficial" delegation to what might be called the Anti-Congress which met at Mecca immediately after the Cairo Congress.<sup>2</sup>

It became therefore clear, even before the Congress met, that there could be no question of electing a Caliph. At a meeting of the administrative board on 25 April, Marāghī is said to have explained that those attending the Congress would have no official representative capacity; this gave rise to a sharp discussion, and some 'ulamā asked whether this did not mean that those attending would be merely giving their personal opinions, and whether this was the

<sup>1</sup> *Radd hay'at kibār al-'ulamā 'ala kitāb al-islām wa uṣūl al-ḥukm li'l shaikh 'Alī 'Abd al-Rāziq (Refutation by the Areopagus of the Grand 'Ulamā of the Book, Islam and the Foundations of Authority, by Shaikh 'Alī 'Abd al-Rāziq)* Cairo, n.d. The pamphlet ends with the sentence: "This is the *ratio decidendi* of the judgement against Shaikh 'Alī 'Abd al-Rāziq issued by the General Administration of Religious Establishments. [Signed: the Party of] Union. The judgement is analyzed by L. Bercher in *Revue des Etudes Islamiques*, Vol. IX, 1935, pp. 75-86.

<sup>2</sup> *Hauliyyāt . . . , Third Survey*, 1926, pp. 40 and 105 ff.; *Revue du Monde Musulman*, Vol. LXIV, p. 126. The Congress at Mecca met from 7 June to 5 July, 1926.

original purpose of the Congress; Marāghī then said that circumstances had changed since the Congress was first mooted and that the proclamation of a Caliph by the Congress was out of the question.<sup>1</sup> In his *Memoirs*, Marāghī's rival, Shaikh al-Ṣawāhirī claims the credit for saving the Congress from utter failure. When he found that it was impossible to proclaim Fū'ād Caliph, he wrote, he decided that the best way to preserve both Islamic unity and the dignity of Egypt was to wind up the Congress and forestall any damaging resolutions; the pretext for this was to be that not all Islamic nations were represented in the Congress.<sup>2</sup> Whether or not al-Ṣawāhirī may take credit for it, the remarkable fact remains that the Congress, which took two years and two months to assemble, lasted barely a week, and held only four meetings. For, as Aḥmad Shafīq Pasha pointed out, the 'ulamā who had organized the Congress found themselves in a quandary: not only was there no chance of Fū'ād being proclaimed Caliph, but also each delegation wished to proclaim Caliph the ruler of its country. When the Egyptian 'ulamā, he continued, "found themselves members of a body deliberating over something which had no chance of being realized or executed, they had no option but to find a way out of this predicament. Three things were therefore decided, which were not the fruit of research or scrutiny or the result of examination and strict enquiry. Rather were they a bare statement of how the Caliphate question at present stood. The delegations said that a Caliphate was obligatory! They then pointed out the impossibility at present of establishing it among the Muslims! Finally they decided to found branches of the Congress in different Islamic countries so as to prepare further successive congresses, as need be, in order to decide the issue of the Caliphate! In all this there was nothing new: it was all a means whereby the honourable body might find a way out of the narrow *impasse* into which it had led itself".<sup>3</sup>

The deliberations of this Congress<sup>4</sup> in which were brought together the highest religious authorities of Islam were thus from the outset distorted and denatured by the desire to avoid the consequences of a political miscalculation, and their conclusions cannot be taken to mean what, at first sight, they seem to mean. Only a

<sup>1</sup> *Hauliyyāt . . . , Third Survey, 1926, p. 203.*

<sup>2</sup> *Al-Siyyāsa wa'l-Azhar, pp. 215-16.*

<sup>3</sup> *Hauliyyāt . . . , Third Survey, 1926, pp. 280-1.*

<sup>4</sup> The minutes of the meetings and resolutions are translated in *Revue du Monde Musulman*, Vol. LXIV, pp. 46-122.

laborious effort of exploration and reconstruction can restore their original political significance to these seemingly authoritative declarations, and these ostensibly academic disquisitions. Documents such as the record of the Cairo Congress, or 'Alī 'Abd al-Rāziq's tract arouse — and rightly so — great interest among students of contemporary Islam, and owing to the paucity and unreliability of other historical material the importance of such documents is sometimes exaggerated and their significance misunderstood. A warning is perhaps useful that just as tracts produced in the course of religious strife in early and medieval Islam may not be taken at their face value, so also may not be taken on trust much of the political and social thought of modern Islam. In fact, here, much more than in Europe the history of ideas is an unusually treacherous and demanding discipline. The least of the difficulties besetting the student is that so many of these writings are derivative, and to establish the exact derivation and the precise channel of communication is not always easy. But an even graver difficulty is that the exact purpose and significance of a piece of writing may be expertly disguised and may not be discovered without extensive and minute knowledge of political transactions. So far from these productions providing a clue to the real state of mind of a particular individual or a particular society — which is the usual assumption underlying so many histories of modern Islamic thought — they themselves have to be painfully deciphered, and the key is usually nothing grandiose like the fate of Islam or the nature of Arabism, but only obscure intrigues and tenebrous ambitions. An excellent case in point is that of 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Kawākibī and his writings. It has been shown that the two books he wrote, *Ṭabā'ī' al-istibdād* and *Umm al-qura* stand heavily indebted to the writings respectively of the Italian Alfieri and of the Englishman Blunt. It has also been suggested that *Umm al-qura*, with its advocacy of an Arabian Caliphate, may well have been a piece of Khedivial propaganda, destined to further the ambitions of Abbas II in Arabia and the Levant.<sup>1</sup> We now learn that Kawākibī's political activities are even more equivocal than hitherto suspected. In a letter to George Antonius, who was gathering material for his *Arab Awakening*, Rashīd Riḍā wrote that Kawākibī visited Somaliland "in agreement (*bi'l ittifāq*) with Italy". The inference that he was an Italian agent, as well as

<sup>1</sup> See S. G. Haim "Alfieri and al-Kawakibi" and "Blunt and al-Kawakibi" in *Oriente Moderno* XXXIV and XXXV, and *ibid.*, *Arab Nationalism*, Berkeley, 1962, pp. 28-29.



a Khedivial one, seems strong, and that *Ṭabā'i' al-istibdād* is a crib from an Italian author, becomes a suggestive and significant fact. Our suspicions seem even more cogent and well-founded when we notice that Rashīd Riḍā is very reluctant to put down in writing all that he knows of Kawākibī, for he ends his letter to Antonius by promising to give more information by word of mouth "since not everything which is known can be spoken of, and not everything which is spoken can be written".<sup>1</sup>

The fiasco of the Cairo Congress removed the Caliphate for a few years from the forefront of politics. The question was raised again in 1931, but it was not Fū'ād who contrived to raise it. He merely suspected that others were scheming to accaparate the coveted office: the sharpness of his reaction to such a threat — whether imaginary or not — indicates clearly enough that he was still prey to the same ambition. Following the Palestine disturbances of 1929, the Mufti of Jerusalem, Hāj Muḥammad Amin al-Ḥusaini, sought to consolidate and systematically organize the widespread sympathy for the Palestine Arab cause which these events aroused in the Islamic world. As much to strengthen the Arabs in their fight against the Zionists, as to enhance his own prestige and deal a powerful blow to his then uncowed Arab rivals, the Mufti in October 1931 called for and began to organize an Islamic Congress, to take place at Jerusalem towards the end of the year. The Egyptian Government soon showed itself very hostile to this project. The Mufti had announced that the Congress was to consider, among other subjects, the possibility of setting up a Muslim university in Jerusalem. The Egyptian authorities took this as a threat to the primacy of al-Azhar and were not pleased. But what seems to have really agitated Fū'ād and his Government was the rumour that the Caliphate was to be discussed and a Caliph possibly proclaimed.<sup>2</sup> The King seems to have taken these rumours seriously enough to invoke Italian help should the Caliphate question be raised. In August 1931, 'Adil Arslān was telling the United States Minister that Italy supported Fū'ād's claim to the Caliphate,<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Rashīd Riḍā to Antonius, 10 January 1935; *Antonius Papers*, Israel State Archives. I am obliged to the Director, Dr. P. Alsberg, for access to these Papers. It is interesting that the Ottoman Government were so interested in Kawākibī's activities that, as Rashīd Riḍā writes, after his death, they persuaded his son to sell them Kawākibī's papers.

<sup>2</sup> Despatch from the United States Minister, Cairo, 28 December 1931, no. 883.00 General Conditions/7.

<sup>3</sup> Despatch of 20 August 1931, no. 883.00/711, cited above.

whilst a few months later, the Minister himself wrote that the Italian Legation had great influence with the King because Fū'ād hoped for Italian support in improving his international position and advancing his claim to the Caliphate.<sup>1</sup> But it seems that on this occasion the King was concerned not so much to fill the office himself as to prevent others from filling it. The official Azhar Journal, *Nūr al-Islām*, which may be taken to mirror Palace views, published in the second half of 1931 a warning that it was not to the interest of Muslims that the question should be raised: the Cairo Congress of 1926 had decided that the time was not then ripe and this was still the case. Two months later, *Nūr al-Islām* returned to the charge in a more specific manner. The Indian Muslim leader, Shaukat 'Alī, had made a statement to the effect that the Jerusalem Congress would have no reason to discuss the Caliphate, since there was still a Caliph living, namely 'Abd al-Majīd, who had been expelled from Turkey and was now in Europe. *Nūr al-Islām* declared that Shaukat 'Alī's allegation was not correct, since an assembly of 'ulamā meeting in Cairo in 1924 had decided that Muslims owed no allegiance to the deposed Ottoman Caliph; and to clinch its point, the journal reprinted *verbatim* the original statement which had served, seven years before, by calling for a Congress in Cairo, to give notice of Fū'ād's claim to the Caliphate.<sup>2</sup> One particular circumstance may have made Fū'ād especially sensitive to this renewed talk of a Caliphate. The ex-Khedive, 'Abbās Ḥilmī, was then said to be canvassing support for his candidature to a Lebanese or a Syrian throne. To further his own scheme, 'Abbās Ḥilmī might be expected to work against Fū'ād's oecumenical ambitions. 'Abbās Ḥilmī's activities were thus doubly unpleasant, and one of the aims of Sidqī Pasha, then Egyptian Prime Minister, in visiting the Levant shortly after Jerusalem Congress was, according to the United States Minister in Cairo, to counteract and undo the ex-Khedive's

<sup>1</sup> Despatch from Cairo, 21 December 1931, no. 865C.00/67.

<sup>2</sup> *Nūr al-Islām*, Vol. II, no. 6, *Jamāda al-akhira* 1350H/October 1931, p. 464 and no. 8, *Sha'bān* 1350H/December 1931, pp. 590 ff. Rashid Riḍā wrote, shortly after the Jerusalem Congress, that Shaukat 'Alī was rumoured to have wanted to use the Congress to proclaim 'Abd al-Majīd the true Caliph and that this aroused the strenuous opposition of Turkey; see *al-Manār*, Vol. XXXII, 1932, p. 120. On Turkish objections, see *Oriente Moderno*, Vol. XI, 1931, p. 579. Shaukat 'Alī was hostile to Ibn Sa'ūd, and this may have encouraged Fū'ād at one point to seek his support. Shaukat 'Alī visited Cairo in August 1931 and saw the King; he was then thought to be working for him; despatch from U.S. Minister, Cairo, 9 September 1931, no. 883.00/714. On Shaukat 'Alī's hostility to Ibn Sa'ūd, see *Revue du Monde Musulman*, Vol. LXIV, p. 15 and *al-Manār*, Vol. XXIX, 1929, pp. 162 ff.

machinations.<sup>1</sup> Egyptian hostility to the Congress was not in doubt. Religious dignitaries publicly attacked it<sup>2</sup> and official displeasure with anybody taking part in it was manifest. The issues involved become even clearer when we learn that 'Alī 'Abd al-Rāziq took up his pen to attack the Azhari Shaikhs who were attacking the Jerusalem Congress, and that Nahhās, the leader of the Wafd which was on very bad terms with Fū'ād, designed to go to the Congress in person; in the event, it was 'Abd al-Rahmān 'Azzām, then a Wafdist, who was sent. His presence there was manifestly taken to be a demonstration against Fū'ād, and a speech of his at the inaugural session was followed by protests from some pro-Fū'ād Egyptians: a disturbance of some twenty minutes followed, and the police had to intervene.<sup>3</sup> The Palestine Arab opponents of the Mufti took heart, and Hāj Amīn, fearing for the success of his venture, had to visit Cairo, in November, and assure Sidqī Pasha, both verbally and in writing, that the Caliphate would not be discussed at the Congress.<sup>4</sup> After the Congress, and until Fū'ād's death in 1936, the Caliphate question remained dormant. But there was no question of the King giving up his claim or allowing any other claim to be entertained. In August 1933, a French newspaper suggested that the Sultan of Morocco should be made Caliph. The Moslem Caliphate Society in Cairo — a body hitherto unknown — thereupon called a meeting to discuss this suggestion and drew up a manifesto pointing out that nobody in the Muslim world possessed the qualifications necessary for the office. The significance of this move, commented the United States Chargé d'affaires, arose from the well-known ambition of King Fū'ād in respect of the Caliphate.<sup>5</sup> A few weeks later, the Chargé d'affaires had to report

<sup>1</sup> Despatch from Cairo, 29 March 1932, no. 883.00 General Conditions/12.

<sup>2</sup> See details in *Oriente Moderno*, Vol. XI, 1931, pp. 527-8.

<sup>3</sup> *Oriente Moderno*, Vol. XII, 1932, p. 25. 'Azzām was eventually expelled from Palestine for making an anti-Italian speech; see loc. cit. p. 42. The occasion of the anti-Italian agitation was the recent execution of the rebel leader 'Umar al-Mukhtār in Cyrenaica. There may be a significant connexion between 'Azzām's attack on Italy and the reports, mentioned above, of Italian support for Fū'ād in the Caliphate question. In his despatch of 28 December 1931, no. 833.00 General Conditions/7 cited above, the United States Minister reported the appearance of an outspoken article by 'Azzām entitled "Sidky Pasha continues to be friendly to the Italians but offending to the Moslems and Arabs".

<sup>4</sup> *Al-Manār*, Vol. XXXII, pp. 120 ff., contains an interesting account of the intrigues and manoeuvres behind the Jerusalem Congress; the Mufti's letter to Sidqī is printed p. 126; see also *Oriente Moderno*, Vol. XI, 1931, p. 529, for translation of the Mufti's letter.

<sup>5</sup> Despatch from Cairo, 25 September 1933, no. 883.00 General Conditions/30.

that the Rector of al-Azhar, Shaikh al-Zawāhirī, had issued on appeal to the Muslims to avoid missionary schools; such an appeal might be considered likely to disturb the public peace, by inciting one section of the population against another, and yet the Government took no action in the matter. This, the Chargé d'affaires again commented, was attributable to the influence of the King who desired to capitalize the anti-missionary agitation (which was just then loud and widespread) in order to promote his pretensions to the Caliphate.<sup>1</sup>

A variety of circumstances contributed in 1935 to a great decline in Fū'ad's position within Egypt; a decline which the natural play of rivalry between Egyptian politicians would no doubt have soon reversed. But the King's health was failing and he died in April 1936. The Prime Minister who was in office during the last months of his reign was 'Alī Māhir who had been, in the past decade of Egyptian politics, a King's man. But the King's weakening grip over the Government no doubt enabled him to follow, to some extent, a personal policy. He seems to have decided that the Caliphate was dead, and that the question was not worth continuing estrangement from Ibn Sa'ūd.<sup>2</sup> He opened negotiations with Sa'ūdi Arabia, which speedily issued in a Treaty of Friendship. Article One of the Treaty is an eloquent commentary on the previous state of Sa'ūdi-Egyptian relations, for this Article read: "The Egyptian Government recognizes that the Kingdom of Sa'ūdi Arabia is a free and sovereign state, enjoying complete and absolute independence." A contemporary comment by H. St. John Philby, who was in Ibn Sa'ūd's counsels, is noteworthy. "It is a mere coincidence, of course", he wrote from Ibn Sa'ūd's camp, "that the Treaty had, for all practical purposes, been negotiated and signed within a week of King Fu'ad's death. But it is for all that an interesting coincidence, for it is a matter of common knowledge that the late King of Egypt had decided views and certain ambitions in respect of Arabia". "Aly Maher Pasha", he continued, "has achieved success where his predecessors have failed and he deserves the warmest congratulations of all who have the Arab cause in its widest connotation at heart".<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Despatch from Cairo, 20 October 1933, no. 883.00 General Conditions/31.

<sup>2</sup> Muḥammad Ḥusain Haikal, *Memoirs* . . . , Vol. I, p. 402, who writes that he agreed with 'Alī Māhir that the Caliphate was a burden which Egypt did not have the strength to shoulder.

<sup>3</sup> Article dated 8 May 1936, published in *The Egyptian Gazette* of 20 May, enclosed with despatch from the United States Minister, Cairo, 23 May 1936, no. 783.90f/10.



Later events have made it a moot point whether both parties — and their neighbours — would not have reaped greater benefits from 'Alī Māhir's failure than they did from his success.

One of those whom Philby praised for helping to negotiate the Sa'ūdi-Egyptian Treaty was the Rector of al-Azhar, Marāghī.<sup>1</sup> Marāghī, as has been seen, was shortly afterwards appointed tutor to King Fārūq and established close personal relations with the Palace. From the start of his reign Fārūq manifested certain leanings which made Marāghī his natural ally. When his minority ended and he assumed full powers, Fārūq found in office a Wafdist Cabinet determined to seize this golden opportunity of a young inexperienced King just ascending the throne to eliminate once and for all the royal factor in Egyptian politics, and to make henceforward impossible the kind of *coup d'état* by which three times during his reign, in 1924, in 1928 and in 1930, Fū'ād dismissed a Wafdist government with a large parliamentary majority, and unjustly robbed the Wafdist politicians of the fruits of office. But the Wafdist reckoned without the shrewdness of Fārūq and his advisers. For it soon became apparent that the King designed to exploit his youth and good looks, and the hopes aroused by his accession, to create for himself a popular following with which to dispute the Wafd's hold on the country. When the ceremonies of his accession were discussed, the King proposed that he should be crowned and that, since the ceremony of coronation was hitherto unknown to Egypt — and to Islam — the crown should be bought with the proceeds of a public subscription. He also proposed, in imitation of imperial Ottoman practice, that the Rector of al-Azhar should gird him with the sword of his ancestor, Muḥammad 'Alī. Finally, Fārūq proposed that he should go to pray at al-Azhar on the Friday following the ceremony of his accession. To all these proposals the Prime Minister, Naḥḥās Pasha, declared himself opposed and Fārūq had to abandon them.<sup>2</sup> But, as is well-known, in his conflict with the King, Naḥḥās was discomfited; he was dismissed from office, the Wafdist Parliament dissolved, and Muḥammad Maḥmūd, Marāghī's friend, installed in office. It was between 1937 and the *coup d'état* of February 1942, when the Wafd returned to office, that Marāghī was at the height of his power and influence. One

<sup>1</sup> Al-Jundī mentions, *op. cit.*, p. 109, that Marāghī went on a mission to Ibn Sa'ūd "on matters pertaining to the Caliphate".

<sup>2</sup> Muḥammad al-Tābi'ī, *Min asrār al-sāsa wa'l siyyāsa* (*Secrets of Politicians and Politics*), Cairo, n.d. [after 1952], pp. 57-8, 62 and 78.



of the means which the King and his Ministers adopted in order to discredit the Wafd was to accuse it of being under the control of the Copts, and to allege that Naḥḥās, the nominal leader, was a mere puppet in the hand of his Coptic follower, Makram 'Ubaid. In this anti-Coptic campaign Marāghī and the Azhar students seem to have played some part. In a despatch of 17 March 1938, the United States Minister in Cairo reported on three newspaper interviews given by the Rector to the effect that Muslims should participate in Egyptian politics on a religious basis and that the entire social life of Egypt should be conducted in the light of Islamic teachings. The Minister commented that these pronouncements were believed to be an attack on the Wafd and on Makram's dominant position in the Party: this was the general opinion in the country. This attack on the alleged "coptism" of the Wafd had its evident uses at a time when elections to replace the Wafdist Parliament were impending; the despatch reported that Muḥammad Ḥusain Haikal, then Minister without portfolio whose work at the Ministry of the Interior was connected with the electoral strategy of the Government,<sup>1</sup> had said to journalists (his words not being intended for publication) that Marāghī was being used for political purposes, and that nothing further would be heard from the Shaikh after the elections. Haikal's statement was presumably designed to allay fears of a general systematic attack on Christianity and Christian missionaries; such was also the purpose of the Heir Apparent, Prince Muḥammad 'Alī, when he insisted, as the despatch reported, that the Rector's declarations were in reality anti-Coptic rather than anti-missionary. This attack on the Copts must have helped to increase tension, and worsen relations between Muslims and Copts, for the despatch records the receipt by the Legation of a letter from a Copt at Damanhūr complaining that Christianity was publicly defamed by a Muslim and that he himself had been summoned to the police station where the official candidate had made threats against him. The despatch enclosed a newspaper report to the effect that Azhar students went through the streets of Shubrā in a demonstration shouting: "To Palestine with the Copts", and that a lawsuit was being instituted at Abu Tig against a Copt for having, allegedly, thrown a Qur'ān on the ground and having said improper things about the Rector of al-Azhar.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See Haikal's *Mudhakkirāt . . . (Memoirs . . .)*, Vol. II, Cairo, 1953, Ch. II, *passim*.

<sup>2</sup> Despatch from Cairo, 17 March 1938, no. 383. 1163/46. The newspaper report was taken from *La Bourse Egyptienne* of 9 March.

But it would be a mistake to regard Marāghī's declarations as mere attacks on the Copts. They asserted also, in an extreme and uncompromising manner, the primacy of Islam in Egyptian politics. In an interview with *al-Balāgh* newspaper Marāghī stated that he did not engage in party politics, but that Islam was bound up with every facet of life. "Neither the Koran, nor the traditions nor our theology", he said, "can be understood without a knowledge of the politics of the nations and the history of their social lives". "No Moslem", he continued, "can say that he does not engage in politics. Were he to say so, he would be ignorant of his religion. How could he make such a sweeping statement", he asked, "since his religion has laid down the principles governing peace and war, treaties and alliances? It is indeed stipulated that the Mufti should be aware of the events of his day". The Rector denied that he was engaging in anti-Coptic propaganda, but he did not hide his wish to see Egypt ruled by the dogmas and the ethics of Islam: "I will even go a step further and say that I personally wish to see Islam rule over the social life of Egypt, because the great majority of the inhabitants of this country are Moslems, and because the official religion of Egypt is Islam and nothing else." The Rector disclaimed working for any particular party "but I do engage in religious politics and the politics of Islam. I do so as much for the interior as for the exterior of the country". In another interview, with *La Bourse Egyptienne*, Marāghī added that he would like to see Islamic jurisprudence adopted in Egyptian legislation.<sup>1</sup> In a later despatch, the United States Minister reported that Marāghī had been giving a series of interviews in which he said that it was desirable for Muslims to participate in Egyptian politics on a religious basis.<sup>2</sup>

On his own admission then, Marāghī was a political divine who considered it his duty to engage in "religious politics and the politics of Islam" both inside and outside Egypt. But what, in the context of Egyptian politics at that time, did such assertions mean? The answer is suggested in a passage of an address which the Rector broadcast in February 1938 on the occasion of the Islamic festival of *'Id al-aḍḥa* which that year coincided with the birthday anniversary of King Fārūq. The broadcast as a whole was a defence of Islam, an exhortation to Muslims to cherish their faith, and an attack

<sup>1</sup> Report in *The Egyptian Mail*, 5 March 1938, translating interview appearing in *al-Balāgh*, and in *La Bourse Egyptienne* of the same date, enclosed with despatch no. 383. 1163/46, cited above.

<sup>2</sup> Despatch from Cairo, 27 April 1938, no. 883.00 General Conditions/73.

on the "cunning" Christian missionaries who were subverting the beliefs of the Muslims. But the Rector began his broadcast by a reference to Fārūq. "The union of two holidays after His Majesty has become the Ruler of the Country", he said, "is a sign that Farouk's birthday is an Islamic holiday as well as a national festival for all Egyptians whatever their different religions and creeds." "The Holy Azhar, professors and students", he continued, "present their loyal and sincere congratulations upon the two events to His Majesty King Farouk. May God grant him a long and prosperous life for humanity in general and for the Islamic religion in particular". The reference to Fārūq's birthday being an Islamic holiday is curious. Birthday celebrations, in respect of living persons at any rate, are unknown to Islam. Traditional Islam, like traditional Judaism, in the words of Ecclesiastes vii, 1, holds "the day of death better than the day of one's birth". Birthdays of Muslims are notoriously difficult to trace, and if the anniversary of the Prophets' birthday is commemorated by a festival, we must also remember that this day is also the anniversary of his death.<sup>1</sup> The celebration of a Muslim's birthday is clearly a modern western importation, and if a Shaikh of al-Azhar chose to describe the occasion as an Islamic holiday, we must conclude that this was nothing but a political act designed to enhance Fārūq's position and his popularity. And this chimed in with the policy which the King and his Palace advisers were then pursuing, namely to present Fārūq as an Islamic as well as an Egyptian sovereign. All devices would be useful, whatever their provenance, provided they served to surround the King with reverence, and raise his position far above that of any politician, however powerful. Hence the simultaneous demand for Fārūq to be crowned and to be girded with his ancestor's sword; hence the attempt to invest his birthday with a spurious Islamic aura. Reporting on Marāghī's broadcast, the United States Minister commented that Marāghī's words had weight, as coming from the Rector of al-Azhar and by reason of the King's interest in Islam. The King's strict observance of ritual, he went on to say, brought the influence of al-Azhar to bear on his side in the recent conflict with the Wafd. The prestige of al-Azhar, the Minister further said, mounted with that of the King, to whose hold on the people al-Azhar had contributed to an important degree, and it was, in his opinion, to be expected that Muslim religious authorities

<sup>1</sup> According to Jewish and Greek traditions respectively, both Moses and Plato also died on the anniversary of their birth.

should thenceforth have something to say on public affairs in Egypt.<sup>1</sup> "Religious politics" then, in Marāghī's eyes, meant in effect support by al-Azhar for Fārūq in his attempt to establish his autocracy in Egypt. Other episodes confirm such a view. After France's defeat in the summer of 1940, Fārūq became quite reluctant to do anything which might alienate German and Italian sympathies. This meant at the very least that the letter of the Anglo-Egyptian Treaty of Alliance, signed only four years before, should be whittled and its spirit denied. In furtherance of this policy, Marāghī in the autumn of 1940 preached a sermon in the Rifā'i mosque saying that the War was no concern of Egypt, and that she should not therefore be exposed to dangers such as air raids, which the presence of foreign troops created.<sup>2</sup> When Naḥḥas became Prime Minister in February 1942, agitation against Marāghī was organized in al-Azhar and Naḥḥas demanded his resignation, but Fārūq supported Marāghī who remained Rector but ceased to attend al-Azhar for some ten months.<sup>3</sup> As the tide of war in the Middle East receded, the King's and Marāghī's ability to oppose Naḥḥas became stronger, and in the autumn of 1943 and the winter of 1944, there were reports of Azhar students being aroused against the Wafdist Government on a variety of pretexts, relating both to politics and to their stipends and employment prospects.<sup>4</sup> His biographer, quoting the unpublished memoirs of his son, Abu'l Wafā, says that a sustained attack against Marāghī was launched then by eminent writers and that he was denounced to the British Ambassador.<sup>5</sup> But Naḥḥas was dismissed in October 1944 and Marāghī died in office on 21 August, 1945. His successor was Mustafa 'Abd al-Rāziq, member of the well-known Liberal Constitutional family, and himself an eminent member of the Party.

<sup>1</sup> Despatch from Cairo, 21 February 1938, no. 383. 1163/45, enclosing a translation of the Rector's broadcast taken from *al-Ahrām* of 12 February.

<sup>2</sup> Al-Jundi, pp. 109-110. The date of the sermon is not given but the author mentions that Marāghī was taken to task by the Prime Minister and that he answered by threatening to arouse the population against him. The Prime Minister in question was probably Husain Sirri whose period in office ran from November 1940 to February 1942; his predecessor Ḥasan Sabrī himself had favoured a neutral policy for Egypt. A. A. Michie, *Retreat to Victory*, 1942, p. 145, tends to confirm that it was during Sirri's Ministry that Marāghī preached his sermon; the author also provides more details of the sermon than al-Jundi, who is content with a bare mention of its subject.

<sup>3</sup> Haim, loc. cit. p. 100, quoting the memoirs of Marāghī's rival, Shaikh al-Zawahiri.

<sup>4</sup> G. Kirk, *The Middle East in the War*, 1952, p. 257, quoting contemporary Egyptian, English and German press reports.

<sup>5</sup> Al-Jundi, p. 110.

His appointment was the occasion of a show of that royal wilfulness and arbitrariness which the Liberal Constitutionalists — with whom Marāghī, as has been seen, was at the outset connected — were dedicated to combat, and again exhibits, as does Marāghī's career, the fluidity of political loyalties in Egypt. Mustafa 'Abd al-Rāziq was not a member of the "Areopagus of the Grand 'Ulamā" among whom the Rector had, by law, to be chosen. The King wished him, nevertheless, to be Rector: a change in the law, purely *ad personam* in character, was immediately effected, and Mustafa 'Abd al-Rāziq became Rector.<sup>1</sup>

Marāghī, as has been seen, insisted that the "religious politics" in which he engaged related to the exterior as well as to the interior of Egypt. Nor was there any doubt as to what he meant, for at that time he was also making public declarations expressing his scepticism towards projects of Arab unity, and exhorting the Muslims to strive for greater mutual understanding and closer union.<sup>2</sup> But as in the case of Egyptian politics proper, such declarations were more than general academic exercises; they must be seen in the context of a specific political ambition which the King, Marāghī's patron and pupil, nursed at the time; the ambition, namely, to obtain the Caliphate for Egypt and himself. At this distance of time the ambition seems to us anachronistic, overtaken and made futile by the rise of new interests and attitudes in the Islamic world. But Marāghī had grown to manhood when the Sultan-Caliph still reigned in Istanbul; both he and the King were very close, through direct personal involvement or through family tradition, to the events and discussions which followed the Turkish abolition of the Caliphate in 1924; and they clearly regarded the office as a great prize worth striving for. We do not know whether it was Marāghī who inspired the King with this ambition, or whether it was Fārūq himself who decided to take up a line of policy traditional in his house, and required Marāghī to further it through his office and influence. Marāghī, in any case, no longer depended on the patronage of others, and as Rector could use his prestige to establish and extend the new King's authority. He was now a power on his own, and no doubt reasoned that "religious politics" would be profitable to the religion, to the monarchy, and to himself. He believed, as

<sup>1</sup> The episode is described in Haim, loc. cit., pp. 100-1.

<sup>2</sup> See E. Nune "L'Idea dell'Unità Araba in Recenti Dibattiti della Stampa del Vicino Oriente", *Oriente Moderno*, XVIII, 1938, pp. 411-12, where the author quotes contemporary Egyptian press reports.



we know, that politics and society in Egypt should be ruled by Islamic principles, and the Caliphate was an essential aspect of Islam. So that notwithstanding his rôle in settling the Caliphate issue with Ibn Sa'ūd, Marāghī now worked to obtain for Fārūq what in his own youth and middle age he had considered the highest office to which a Muslim could attain. Rumours began to abound that Fārūq was soon to be proclaimed Caliph, and that Marāghī had invited Muslim notabilities to Cairo to discuss the matter. An Egyptian journalist questioned Marāghī about these rumours, and he denied them; but when the journalist asked whether this denial meant that the Caliphate question would not be raised again, Marāghī said: "No, this is another matter and depends on circumstances and what God decrees."<sup>1</sup> Some three months later, it transpired that Marāghī was indeed thinking of a general Muslim assembly in Cairo; it would be a "legislative assembly" and would examine and reinterpret the Muslim principles of private and public life.<sup>2</sup> The purposes to which such a "legislative assembly" could be put are obvious. Marāghī and the Palace seem to have worked to good purpose, for in the autumn of 1938 there assembled in Cairo an "Arab and Muslim Interparliamentary Congress for Palestine" — the conjunction of the epithets, Arab and Muslim, indicating well the reach of Egyptian ambition in those days — at which there was, so the United States Chargé d'affaires reported, a disposition among certain of the delegates to proclaim Fārūq as Caliph. Cooler heads, the Chargé d'affaires added, induced these to desist on the ground that the Congress had been called for another purpose and that it would be best to consider the Caliphate on some later occasion.<sup>3</sup> The Congress was nonetheless made the pretext of demonstrations in favour of Fārūq's Caliphate. The reading of the delegates' names at the opening session ended with shouts, Long Live the King of Egypt Fārūq I, Commander of the Faithful. Again in January 1939, when the Arab delegates, assembled in Cairo before proceeding to the Palestine Round Table Conference in London, accompanied the King to the mosque one Friday, the royal *entourage* prevented the Imam from officiating as usual, and Fārūq himself led the congregation in prayer as was the prerogative

<sup>1</sup> *Oriente Moderno*, Vol. XVII, 1937, giving details of an interview in *al-Ahrām* newspaper of 26 September 1937.

<sup>2</sup> *Oriente Moderno*, Vol. XVIII, 1938, p. 222.

<sup>3</sup> Despatch from Cairo, 23 December 1938, no. 883.00 General Conditions/82.

of a Caliph.<sup>1</sup> It is significant that the Sa'ūdīs, who had so recently thought to bury the Caliphate issue, were absent from the Congress. In the months following the Congress propaganda for Fārūq's Caliphate must have continued, or even perhaps intensified. In his *Memoirs* Muḥammad Ḥusain Haikal records a conversation he had with the Assistant Chief of the Royal Cabinet, Kāmil al-Bindāri, who was deputising for his Chief, 'Alī Māhir, then representing Egypt at the Round Table Conference on Palestine which took place in London in February-March 1939. At that time, Ḥusain Haikal writes, certain notions relating to the restoration of Islamic form of government, to which 'Alī Mahir was sympathetic, but which he had taken care not to have attributed directly to the Palace, began to be propagated more than ever, and the Palace was no longer reluctant to have them ascribed to it. In the course of their conversation, Ḥusain Haikal and Bindāri came to discuss this Islamic form of government: "I said to him then: 'But some of the principles of the Egyptian Constitution are quite different from those of such a government'. He answered: 'No, the Egyptian Constitution confirms and supports the Islamic form of government'. I said: 'How can this be, when one of the principles of the Egyptian Constitution is freedom of belief? When the Constitution allows a Christian to change his religion to Islam or some other creed, and the Muslim to change his to Christianity or any other creed — whilst the Islamic form of government requires the apostate from Islam to be punished with death? Further, does not the Egyptian Constitution stipulate that Egypt is a hereditary kingdom, and that the family of Muḥammad 'Alī is the ruling dynasty, whilst the Islamic Caliphate is elective to the point that a ruling Caliph could obtain the election of his son after his own death, and yet the doctors of religion could then say that such an election was unlawful? Again, how can this be, when the Egyptian Constitution stipulates that treaties to which Egypt is a party have to be observed, and the Pact of Montreux of 1937 [which abolished the Capitulations], in order to prevent discrimination against foreigners, requires Egyptian legislation to conform to principles obtaining among the Western signatories, and not all of these principles agree with those of Islam?' Al-Bindāri Pasha answered me: 'All these are details

<sup>1</sup> E. Rossi "Il Congresso Interparlamentare Arabo e Musulmano pro Palestina al Cairo (7-11 Ottobre)" in *Oriente Moderno*, Vol. XVIII, 1938, p. 589 and *Oriente Moderno*, Vol. XIX, 1939, p. 104. The delegates in January included Sa'ūdi princes and the Yemeni Heir to the Throne.

which can be adjusted to the Islamic form of government; there is nothing in them which will make adjustment impossible'.<sup>1</sup>

The outbreak of war in August 1939 perforce arrested all these endeavours. They were the last occasion on which it proved possible, in the exceptional period stretching from 1882 to 1952, for the man of religion, if like Marāghī he had a measure of ability and personality, to manifest some independence, and aspire to be not entirely subservient to the man of the sword; for the impression is strong that in his speeches, declarations and activities, Marāghī was not the mere agent of the King, but was behaving as the head of an important interest in the country, who had to be pleased and conciliated, whose opposition could be formidable and whose support had to be bargained for. Very soon after Marāghī's death, the usual primacy of the sword, and the usual subservience of the pen came, once more, speedily to be the rule.

In any case, in May 1941 when Mr. Eden announced British support for an Arab union,<sup>2</sup> new prospects beguiled the King of Egypt, and he came to give his support to the scheme of an Arab League. In trying to make Egypt the champion of panarabism Fārūq was seeking to gain the same primacy which eluded him and his father in their dogged pursuit of the Caliphate; and the very length and pertinacity of this earlier pursuit illuminates and makes more intelligible the later vicissitudes of Arab League politics. A document exists which sheds some light on Fārūq's change of policy. Fū'ād Abāza formed in Cairo in 1942, most probably under official inspiration, a society called the Arab Union, and presented a memorandum to the King arguing the case for Arab unity. When the King received him in audience, he asked to be forgiven for having declared, in the memorandum, that the Caliphate question bristled with difficulty and that it was better to cease discussing it. It was known, said Abāza, that the question had been raised during King Fū'ād's reign, and there were rumours that this and Egyptian ambitions in the Hijaz had created a misunderstanding with Ibn Sa'ūd. In view of all this, Abāza wondered whether he had done right in criticizing a scheme which was universally known to have the backing of the Palace; but Fārūq said, according to Abāza:

<sup>1</sup> Op. cit., Vol. II, Cairo, 1953, pp. 156-157. It appears from the context that Bindārī aspired to 'Alī Māhir's place, and that this was his way of insinuating himself in Fārūq's good graces.

<sup>2</sup> See E. Kedourie, "Panarabism and British Policy" in W. Z. Laqueur, ed. *The Middle East in Transition*, 1958.

"My late father studied fully the Caliphate question and wrote in a memorandum shortly before his death that he had given up thinking of it." Fārūq added that Ibn Sa'ūd was to be informed of this, so that the misunderstanding might be finally removed.<sup>1</sup> But the ambition of an Egyptian Caliphate died a most reluctant death. In the midst of the deliberations on the scheme of Arab unity, an echo of the old propaganda was still to be heard. Cairo Radio broadcasting to the Middle East at the end of 1943, reported that during the celebrations of the Muslim New Year, the crowds in Cairo cheered Fārūq with cries of "Long live the Commander of the Faithful" and "Long Live the Caliph".<sup>2</sup> And even after the formation of the Arab League, in which Egypt was acknowledged by the other members to have the primacy, Fārūq still showed a hankering for the office. A committee was got up in the Palace, which conducted researches and found that Fārūq was actually a descendant of the Prophet! The principal authority for this statement must have been one particular member of the committee, namely, Shaikh al-Biblāwi, *naqīb al-ashraf* of Egypt, the head, that is, of the corporation of the descendants of the Prophet in that country, one of whose traditional responsibilities was to possess a good knowledge of genealogical matters, to keep a register of descendants from the Prophet's tribe, and to examine the validity of alleged Quraishite genealogies.<sup>3</sup> This complaisant genealogist was assisted in his labours by two court officials and for public relations aspects by Karīm Thābit, the journalist of Syrian Christian origins, whom Fārūq took up and made his Press Adviser.<sup>4</sup> In this curious committee the venerable Caliphate suffered its last agony, and expired hanging on a fake genealogical tree.

<sup>1</sup> Al-Ittiḥād al-'Arabī fī'l Qāhira, *al-Kitāb al-thānī* (The Arab Union in Cairo, *Second Book*), Cairo 1950, p. 10. The King subsequently sent 'Abd al-Rahmān 'Azzām on a mission to Ibn Sa'ūd. 'Azzām was a long-standing advocate of Arab unity, had many connexions in the Arab world, had by then abandoned the Wafdists and become a King's man, and was the son-in-law of Khālīd al-Qarqani, an influential adviser of Ibn Sa'ūd.

<sup>2</sup> *United States Weekly Review of Official Foreign Broadcasts*, no. 110, 8 January 1944, p. 21.

<sup>3</sup> See article "Sharif" in *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*.

<sup>4</sup> Details of this committee were given by Ḥāfiẓ 'Afīfī, at the time Chief of the Royal Cabinet, in his evidence in Karīm Thābit's trial before the Revolutionary Court in 1953; see Kamāl Kīra, ed., *Muḥākamāt al-Thaura* (*Trials of the Revolution*) Vol. IV, Cairo, 1954, p. 672. See also, E. Kedourie "Revolutionary Justice in Egypt: The Trials of 1953" in *The Political Quarterly*, 1958, p. 393.

## APPENDIX

To His Excellency General Sir Reginald Wingate Governor General of the Sudan.

I have the honour to submit to your Excellency the following remarks.

In the Arabic Columns of the *Sudan Times* I read the translation of an article published by the Times newspaper on 24th April [1915]. In this article I read the following clause.

“We may now be able to say that the actual situation of the Khalifate is both strange and peculiar. The ruling in this question is that the Khalifa should belong to the tribe of the Prophet, i.e. the ‘Koreish’. It is evident that the present Sultans of Turkey are not in a position to claim this honour. They have however three reasons for the maintenance of the title. Firstly because they gained the title from the last Abbaside Khalifa who lived in Cairo in the year 1517. Secondly because the Sultan of Turkey is the guardian of the holy relics of the Prophet, i.e. his mantle and hairs of his beard. Thirdly, because the Sultan of Turkey is the acknowledged ruler and defender of the holy places. A fourth reason may be added to this, namely that the Sultan of Turkey is acknowledged as the Khalifa of the Moslems because he is considered as the greatest living Mohammedan.”

This is the clause which has induced me to write this explanation to you, because it is my greatest desire that the true facts of the case should be fully known to you, as I am well aware that your Excellency is always keen to know the truth and especially the sound views regarding the question of the Khalifate.

The condition that the Khalifs should belong to the tribe of Koreish has been maintained and supported by a party of ‘Sunnites’ called ‘El Masha’ara’ and by members of another party called ‘El Mutazila’. The reason for the appearance of this condition (which seems to be inconsistent with the general spirit of the religion) is due to the following facts.

When the ‘Sahaba’ (friends of the Prophet) had a certain disagreement among them on the day of the ‘sakifa’<sup>1</sup> after the death of the Prophet the ‘Ansar’ told the ‘Muhajirin’ that an Emir from each party will have to be chosen alternatively. To this Abu Bakr retorted that the idea was absurd, that the Emir must be chosen from the tribe of ‘Koreish’. In support of his statement, he repeated the

<sup>1</sup> This is a well known historical event when all the friends and followers of the Prophet collected under the roof of El Sakifa which means a thatched enclosure.



Hadith, of the Prophet, "The Imams must be from Koreish". This brought their dispute to an end at once and the people offered their allegiance (Baia) to Abu Bakr and acknowledged him as Khalifa. No objection was raised as to the truthfulness or genuineness of this 'Hadith' and hence it was considered that their agreement was a sufficient proof that the Khalifa must be a 'Kurashi'.

To counterbalance this opinion, there are also other opinions which have been expressed by several other Mohammedan parties, who do not consider that this should be conditional in the choice of the Khalifa. It should not be forgotten that the universal acknowledgement of all Mohammedans throughout the world to the sultans of Turkey as Khalifs is a sufficient proof that they respect the latter opinion, i.e. that it is not necessary for the Khalifa to be a Kurashi.

This idea has been always supported by free thinkers among the Mohammedan ulema in all times. Besides its being logical it agrees with the fundamental teachings of Islam. It is very true that a qualified 'Kurashi' who answers all the other conditions, if found, should have the precedence to any other.

In order to prove that the mere choice of a 'Kurashi' was not in any way obligatory from a purely religious point of view, according to the great ulema of the faith, it may be permitted to mention a simple fact which would explain the case.

The majority of ulema are unanimously agreed that the rulings of the Mohammedan law are based on certain principles which make it always in agreement with the interests of the general well-being. Only matters affecting the conduct of worship are accepted as obligatory in the form they were enacted and elicit no trial and enquiry. Of these I may quote as an example the number of Kneelings that are necessary in prayers.

In the question of the Khalifate there is nothing which should be included under this item i.e. questions of worship. On the contrary the question of the Khalifate is a purely worldly one and has certain connections and relations with religion. The Khalifa is in all respects a King who exercises over his subjects certain powers he derives from the Holy Books. Other Kings govern their subjects by laws enacted by productive brains.

Hence it may be obvious to discuss the reasons and the motives which caused the Prophet to make such restrictions about the Khalifate in his 'Hadith'.

In answer to this I may say the following.

It is well known that the Arabs in the old times never had any form of government or political methods such as exist in these days. Their system of government before the appearance of Islam was very peculiar and far from organization and unity. Islam has established unity and cohesion among the various independent tribes of Arabs, who had different tribal habits, customs and traditions. It is evident that the spirit of faith alone, if not supported with sufficient power, is insufficient to ensure continued peace and tranquillity among people because the ambitions and interests of men are so different that it is not possible that religion alone could have sufficient control over them.

Religion must be supported by temporal power to ensure that its teachings are adhered to and carried out.

In those days no other Arab tribe was in a position to contest or compete with the tribe of Koreish with regard to its moral and dignified tribal position. This was the reason why the Prophet intimated that the Khalifa should be from the Koreish. Besides it was considered at that time that it would be detrimental to the interests of the Arabs and the sacred cause of religion to allow the election of the Khalifa to be universal and general. He was afraid that this will lead to disagreement and dissension among the Arab tribes. Under the circumstances it was exceedingly wise to confirm the Khalifate in the tribe of Koreish which was then the leading and most enlightened tribe among the Arabs.

It is evident that things which depended on the special conditions and reasons obtaining at one time will only remain and continue to exist as long as these conditions and reasons existed, and will be discontinued when they vanish away.

At a certain time the Arabs became scattered and the unity of the Khilafa was dissolved. At this time the Persians and others appeared on the stage of power and organization while the Kurashis had nothing beyond the honour of the name which was devoid of the original meaning and sense.

If the Mohammedans insist on the title (Koreish) they would be showing a dangerously poor knowledge of the true principles of religion. This would mean that they depend on meaningless words. The bitter experience they had in the past and the severe lessons they can recall from their national history could prove to them that their disunion and rigid adherence to the letter of religion is dangerous

and that the time has come for them to wake from their lethargy and to start to explain religious matters in a manner that agrees with logic and sound reasoning.

These are the reasons which induced many of the religious ulema now and in the past to say that the condition of the Khalifa being a member of Koreish was not necessary.

This is not the only point which supplied a reason for discord among the Muslims, but there were many other matters which caused hot literary contests among ulema, and even much fighting and bloodshed. I am sure if these people could be brought back to existence in this century, they would no doubt feel ashamed of the difference and friction they created in their time.

We are now in face of events which will be recorded in history and justly decided. This is why I have chosen to give you my opinion on the matter, so that you may be able to know that the appropriation by the sultans of Turkey of the title of Khalifa, is in no way contrary to the principles of the faith, although they are not from the tribe of Koreish. It may however be admitted that some of the Ottoman Khalifas might have held the title unlawfully for some other reasons which I will not endeavour at present to explain.

In this connection, I must not omit to state that my object and the only motive in writing this explanation, is simply to defend an historical and religious principle. I am far from trying to defend the sultans of the Ottoman Empire and proving that it is wrong and illegal to break down their Khalifate. This is a totally different matter and has absolutely nothing to do with the question I am discussing now. I am simply explaining as I said before an historical and religious question.

The Mohammedans are free to measure the value of the Ottoman Khalifate by the actual benefit they have obtained from its rule and the religious success they made. I am positive that things are judged by their good results. If the Mohammedans consider, as I am inclined to hold, that their faith has reaped no good from the Ottoman Khalifate, they are evidently the best judges as to whether the Ottoman Khalifate should be changed or not. They can very easily find an example in the deposition by the Turks of Sultan Abd-ul-Hamid and the appointment of his successor. Their reason in the step they have taken was that the country made no progress in the time of Abd-ul-Hamid. The Mohammedans can now decide on the situation from the actual conditions of the Empire under the new Khalifa.

It is most useful to probe this question and explain it fully and lay it before the British public opinion and the competent authorities of the British Government. It is equally very beneficial to the Moslems in the presence of these great events which might result in the complete overthrow of several thrones. If the question of the choice of the Khalifa could be discussed and determined, it would be most important that this is opportunely declared.

The reasons mentioned by the *Times* are not correct with the exception of the fourth reason which should depend on the agreement and acceptance of the Moslems. Such an acceptance is considered to be in a certain sense a sort of 'Bai'a' from the public in addition to the approval of special people which had to be taken on certain occasions by the sultans of Turkey. On such occasions the 'Bai'a' was taken from high personages in the Kingdom and people of authority.

The possession of the holy relics, such as the mantle of the Prophet and a few hairs of his beard and the maintenance of the holy places, are not considered by the Moslem ulema to be a strong reason. Besides it is not easy to believe the story about the mantle of the Prophet or the hairs of his beard.

The difficulty in the question of the Khalifate is not limited to the question of his being a Koreishi or not, but the most difficult problem as far as we know, is confined to the agreement of all the Mohammedans in the choice of the right man, who could be entrusted to take over the responsibility of this most dignified post, when the question of choosing a Khalifa is brought under discussion.

It is not very easy to unite the various ambitions which disagree with each other. If one begins to consider these difficulties he is bound to fall into despair. In the presence of all these difficulties, if a man could be found who is well known and highly respected and honoured by Mohammedans, who could claim special qualifications and capacity, these difficulties may be surmounted.

A glance at the history of the Khalifate since its existence up till the present time is sufficient to prove that this matter stands in importance far above any other question in the eyes of the Mohammedans. It is not a general question which is definitely explained by religion, nor is it a question of worship connected between man and his Creator. It is simply a worldly question which has been most intimately connected with the Mohammedan faith. Such questions have always given rise to great and serious disagreement

and ambitions. I sincerely hope that the Moslems will be able, in the face of all these difficulties, to wake up and consider their interests first when the time comes for them to decide for themselves.

Please accept my heartiest respects.

(Sd.) MOHD. MUSTAFA



## THE EASTER FIRE AT JERUSALEM

By A. S. TRITTON

THE EARLIEST WESTERN mention of the Easter fire seems to be by Fulcher of Chartres in A.D. 1101 and this, like later reports, calls it a miracle. An Arabic account exists in a manuscript in the British Museum of the *tatimmat šiwān al-ḥikma* by 'Alī b. Zaid al-Baihaqī (†1174) though it is not in the Lahore print of this book. It runs:—

He said: How shall I neglect the judgement of the teacher? The fire comes down in the church of the Resurrection in the mosque al-Aqṣā. The story of this fire is that on the night in which God lifted Jesus up to heaven, the night of the 15th of Nisan, in that night every year fire comes down from the ether so that men see it and it lights the lamps of the Church of the Resurrection though there is no window or opening in the roof of this building. But the fire strikes the roof without igniting the timbers and then it lights the lamp and the torches. When dawn comes, it is extinguished. Abū Zaid Yaḥyā b. 'Adī (†974), a pupil of Abū Naṣr al-Fārābī, wrote a book about it and explained that it was a natural occurrence.<sup>1</sup>

Graf mentions this report but does not believe in the book by Yaḥyā. If the book was written, it is earlier than Fulcher by more than a century. No Christian would have confused the resurrection with the ascension (a confusion which occurs elsewhere) and the siting of the church in the mosque is a sign of ignorance or carelessness.

It is said that the following report led to the destruction of the church by the Fatimid caliph al-Ḥākim in the year 1009:—<sup>2</sup>

(Pilgrimage to Jerusalem) enters their minds and implants superstition in their hearts. They hang lamps in the sanctuary and contrive to light these by means of oil of the balm of Mecca (and such like?). With oil of jasmine it produces fire naturally, giving a bright shining light. They employ this artifice. They stretch wires between the lamps joining them all together, and smear the wires with oil of balm, but so that it does not show. When the liturgy has been said and the time for the descent of the fire has come, the door of the sanctuary is opened. (They say that Jesus' cradle stood there and from there He ascended to heaven.) They go in, light many

<sup>1</sup> Or. 9033 f. 110 v. Graf, *Geschichte der Christlichen Arabischen Literatur* 2, 249. For other Arabic accounts see Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*.

<sup>2</sup> Ibn al-Qalānisi, *History of Damascus* (ed. Amedroz) p. 77f.

candles and the breathing of the vast crowd helps to warm the place. One of the assistants contrives that a flame is put close to the wire, ignites it and the flame is carried from one lamp to the next till all are alight. Those, who see this, imagine that the fire comes down from heaven and lights the lamps.

In a note to the above a story told by Sibṭ b. al-Jawzī is quoted with a reference to a manuscript in Paris.

When it is the sabbath, they go early into the tomb and clean their lamps. In the tomb are cupboards in the marble walls and in them are lamps which they lit in the morning. There are windows in the tomb. . . . When the sun has set and the place is dark, one of the priests distracts the attention of the people, opens a cupboard in the corner where it cannot be seen, lights a candle from one of the lamps and cries, "Light has come down and the Messiah is well pleased". The candle is thrust out through one of the windows.

A Muslim official, who forced his way into the tomb, reported that a Christian said to him, "We deceive our co-religionists in ways that would not deceive you". The Muslim saw in the tomb a book of enchantments; a priest puts a candle near the lamp and it catches fire suddenly.<sup>1</sup>

It is not surprising that Muslim accounts speak of trickery, or that they are vague about details and confuse the ascension and the resurrection.

<sup>1</sup> Yāqūt, *Geographical Dictionary* 4, 174.

## REVIEWS OF BOOKS

### Central Asia

TIBET AND ITS HISTORY. By H. E. Richardson. pp. ix + 308, 2 maps, 16 plates. Oxford University Press, 1962. 42s.

H. E. Richardson was head of the British Mission in Tibet at the time of the Transfer of Power in 1947, and he remained at Lhasa in the service of the Indian Republic until 1950. He thus possesses a unique insight into Tibetan politics during those crucial years when Communist China was preparing to put an end to Tibetan independence. He has drawn to the full upon his personal experiences, with his deep knowledge of the Tibetan language, literature and customs, in this fairly short survey of Tibetan history over the last 1,500 years. The bulk of the book is devoted to the period following the establishment of Manchu control over Tibet in the 18th century, and it provides us with what is certainly the best introduction available to the tragic events of the last few years. An appendix containing all the more important treaties relating to Tibet adds to the utility of the book. It is to be regretted, perhaps, that in discussing such current issues as the Sino-Indian boundary dispute Mr. Richardson did not personally check all the British documents to which he has referred. One of these, the British note to China of 1899 defining the northern boundary of Kashmir, is certainly misquoted. Mr. Richardson states, on p. 224, that this 1899 note described a boundary "as has been shown on Indian Survey maps for many years". In fact, as an inspection of the note (in the Public Record Office, London, in Foreign Office, China, Vol. 1373) will show, this document defines a boundary which would have given to China about half of the disputed Aksai Chin area, and all the territory through which the Chinese road now runs. This is a minor point, however: Mr. Richardson's book is undoubtedly the most reliable and sensible piece of writing on the Tibetan problem to have appeared for many years. He is, as one would suspect, deeply sympathetic to the Tibetans; yet he has not, in his discussion of the Simla Conference of 1913-14, for example, shirked the task of attempting an objective description of the Chinese point of view. Mr. Richardson has included sixteen pages of admirable photographs, mainly of Lhasa scenes, and two adequate maps.

ALASTAIR LAMB.

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### Far East

BIOGRAPHY OF YÜ-WEN HU. Translated and Annotated by Albert E. Dien. (Chinese Dynastic Histories Translations No. 9.) pp. 165. University of California Press, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1962. £1 1s.

This, the most recent volume in the University of California series of translations from the Chinese dynastic histories, is

concerned with a cousin of the first three emperors of the Northern Chou Dynasty who was regent and virtual ruler of the Northern Chou state from 556 until his assassination in 572. The translation is generally accurate, but occasionally marred by colloquialisms, as on p. 56, where we are told that 'Hu was by nature very tolerant and amiable, but he was dense as to large situations'.

The printing of the *Po-na-pên* text at the back of the book considerably facilitates reference, and additional aids are provided by notes, and an appended map and genealogy. The result is a volume which represents a great advance over some of the earlier numbers of this series, but it is rather a pity that the translator has seen fit to limit himself to the biography as it stands in the *Chou-shu* without translating any of the numerous other passages in the annals or the biographies of other prominent personalities of the time which shed light upon Yü-wen Hu's career.

KENNETH H. J. GARDINER.

SUN TZU: THE ART OF WAR. By Samuel B. Griffith; with a foreword by B. H. Liddell Hart. pp. vii + 195. Clarendon Press: Oxford University Press, 1963. 35s.

The introductory chapters of this new translation of the *Ping-fa* cover a wide variety of subjects, ranging from the transmission of the text to the recent performance of the Peoples' Liberation Army and its opponents. The treatment of such issues is poorly balanced, being too superficial for the scholar but, elsewhere, too technical for general readers. Historians may find the account of pre-Han China to be insufficiently realistic, and the assumption that Mao Tse-tung's ideas of strategy can be traced to Sun tzu's precepts cannot be accepted without more explicit evidence. It is asserted (p. xi) that "'The Art of War' has had a profound influence throughout Chinese history and on Japanese military thought"; it would be interesting to speculate on the ways in which this Chinese text has affected the activities of the non-Chinese armies who have invaded China and operated subsequently therefrom.

Much of the translation of the text is similar to the rendering published by Giles in 1910. General Griffith also translates some passages from the commentaries. Chinese characters and technical references are not always included where necessary.

MICHAEL A. N. LOEWE.

THE INCOME OF THE CHINESE GENTRY. By Chung-li Chang. Introduction by Franz Michael. pp. xvii + 369. Seattle, University of Washington Press, 1962. \$7.75.

European observers of China were one and all impressed by the apparently egalitarian nature of Chinese society. E. H. Parker considered that China was 'one vast democracy'; but A. H. Smith qualified his own remark that 'the management of the village is

in the hand of the people themselves' by adding that 'in practice the burden fell, not upon the people as a whole, but upon the shoulders of a few persons'. The test of equality was the eligibility of ordinary people to present themselves for the public examinations. Observers as diverse as Chester Holcombe (U.S. Foreign Service), Émile Bard (French Foreign Service?), Rev. J. Macgowan (missionary), and H. A. Giles (British Consular Service) state their belief in the 'equality of educational opportunity'. The analysis which Robert K. Douglas (British Consular Service) gives of the 'classes' of Chinese society is the traditional Chinese one, and is followed by European writers generally without reference to a class stratification of wealth or hereditary privilege.

These Europeans, however, were only lay observers and the picture of Chinese society which has emerged in the last decade or so under the investigation of trained sociologists, many of them Chinese, greatly modifies the notion of 'equality'. Chang Chung-li, in his book, 'The Chinese Gentry', for example, utilized official publications, contemporary Chinese writings, gentry biography and local gazetteers to arrive at his opinions. His use (and that of Franz Michael) of 'gentry' (*Chih-shên* or *Shên-shih*) to describe this essentially Chinese class was criticized by Arthur Waley because of its indissoluble association with the English 'gentry'. Membership of the Chinese 'gentry' was not hereditary, and there was much greater social mobility in China than in England. The Chinese gentry also were not functionally linked to the land. But Dr. Chang was nevertheless able to make it clear that the Chinese 'gentry' were much more of a distinct and privileged class than the nineteenth-century European observers were aware.

Dr. Chang has now followed up this important work with an examination of the income of the Chinese gentry. He shows that as a result of their special privileges and position, the gentry received a substantial share of the national income, even though they constituted only about 2 per cent of the population. He also shows that 'the problem of the ability and willingness to save in traditional China rested mainly on the gentry'.

These and many other conclusions are supported by a wealth of tables and other statistical information, and the book will constitute a most valuable source for the future study of the traditional Chinese society and economy.

VICTOR PURCELL.

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THE TRAVELS AND CONTROVERSIES OF FRIAR DOMINGO NAVARRETE 1618-86. Ed. from manuscript and printed sources by J. S. Cummins. 2 vols., pp. cxx + 475. 18 plates and 6 sketch-maps. Cambridge University Press: Hakluyt Society, 2nd series, Vol. CXVIII and CXIX. 1962. £4.

Fr. Domingo Fernández Navarrete O.P., author of one of the most interesting accounts of China in the seventeenth century, has



had to wait nearly 200 years for his biographer. Previous biographical notices of this controversial Dominican missionary friar are invariably either erroneous or incomplete and more often than not they are both. His name is frequently misspelt, and he is variously credited with having been (i) The Bishop of China; (ii) Archbishop of Nazareth; (iii) Archbishop of Havana; (iv) a Christian martyr in China. In fact he was none of these things, nor was he an ignorant and irresponsible mischief-maker, as some of his Jesuit opponents insinuated. In a 120-page introduction that is a model of painstaking research presented in an eminently readable form, Dr. J. S. Cummins has cleared away the numerous misconceptions current about his hero and placed him firmly in the setting of his time. In so doing, he has had to discuss at some length the thorny topic of the Chinese Rites, in which Navarrete played such an outstanding part; but his sympathy for the Dominican has not blinded him to the merits of Ricci's followers, and his handling of this complicated affair is admirably objective.

The present edition is basically a translation of the sixth book of Navarrete's *Tratados de la monarchia de China* (Madrid, 1676), which is the section containing the author's globe-girdling travels and his autobiography. The editor has based his text on the Churchill brothers' printed version of 1704, but he has skilfully interwoven all major references to the author's travels from his other published and MS. works. The chapters dealing with China and the Philippines are naturally those of the greatest authority and importance, but what Navarrete has to say about his experiences in Macassar (pp. 113-125) and in India (pp. 297-337) is also very interesting. Where his testimony can be checked from contemporary English, French and Dutch sources, it generally stands the test very well. Apart from its importance in the "battle of books" over the Chinese Rites, the *Tratados* is of interest as the only substantial Spanish contribution to the Sinophile vogue which swept Europe in the seventeenth-eighteenth centuries, and the only Spanish account of seventeenth-century India. For all those interested in travel literature or in mission history, or in the reactions of an intelligent European to the Asian milieu, this book is a "must".

C. R. BOXER.

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AN EMBASSY TO CHINA, being the journal kept by Lord Macartney during his embassy to the Emperor Ch'ien-lung 1793-4. Ed. by J. L. Cranmer-Byng. pp. xv + 421. Longmans, Green and Company, London. 1962. 42s.

It was inevitable that the reliability of Lord Macartney's account of China should have been subject to grave limitations. His hosts purposely presented him with a one-sided view of the Chinese empire; as a professional administrator and diplomat, he was at all times conscious of the object of his journey, and his observations owe much to his reflections on his own mission. As he freely admits, he depends largely on the unchecked statements of interpreters,

and the tales of travellers can often be no more than subjective descriptions. Despite these difficulties, Lord Macartney's journal makes valuable reading, both for its intrinsic interest and for the style in which the account is written. Many of the subjects to which he has given consideration, e.g. the operation of the government, the extent of the population, the administration of justice, are of permanent interest to historians, and there are occasions when a wealth of detailed information has been preserved (e.g. the contemporary state of the Great Wall) thanks to Macartney's shrewd powers of observation and his habit of recording his findings regularly. At times, he speculates on the major issues of the day, such as the likely fate of China in the coming decades, or the basic reasons for the failure of his own mission; in these passages his judgements may sometimes be considered arbitrary, and his opinions may be more revealing of Europe than of the Far East; but throughout the journal and the observations on select topics there is a refreshing lack of patronage or prejudice, which forms a ready contrast with some more recent appraisals. Mr. Cranmer-Byng is to be congratulated on his presentation of this journal to the twentieth-century reader. He has provided an introduction suitable for non-specialists Western and Asian who come fresh to the subject, and has supplemented Macartney's text with annotations, biographical notes, and the text of ancillary documents (e.g. the famous edict addressed to George III). Western readers could perhaps have been helped with more illustrations and maps; Sinologues would appreciate a longer list of Chinese characters. MICHAEL A. N. LOEWE.

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LEGAL INSTITUTIONS IN MANCHU CHINA. A Sociological Analysis.

By Sybille van der Sprenkel. pp. vi + 179. University of London. The Athlone Press. 1962. 30s.

A traditional prejudice against the force of codified law has long persisted in China, largely owing to the association of such institutions with the oppressive regime of the Ch'in emperor. Like its predecessors, the code of the Ch'ing dynasty comprised two elements, a statement of theory and principles, and a collection of their applications to particular circumstances. In the basic documents on which Ch'ing law rested, the arrangement of items and their classification is inconsistent, and there are times when contradictory decisions are invested with the same degree of authority. Since the Han period, it has been recognized that the force of the laws is not equally binding on all groups of the Chinese population, and the acceptance of the principle of privilege has perhaps coloured the attitude of the Chinese to legal institutions. These have been implemented by officials who have had no specialist training, who have been encouraged to rely on past precedent to solve contemporary problems, and who have been discouraged from introducing new departures to satisfy contemporary conditions. At the level

of local government, magistrates depended on specialist advice tendered by technical secretaries, whose powers frequently exceeded their status. Townsmen other than officials have sought to secure their rights or privileges by combining their individual resources to form professional guilds or associations, rather than by looking to the laws of the state to provide effective definitions of fundamental rights, duties or obligations. In civil affairs, the peasant has been subject to the jurisdiction of village elders and the force of custom; he has regarded the laws as a means whereby officials can maintain the established order and permit the occupations of the farmer to proceed without hindrance. Certainly the administration of justice has not been treated with the same degree of majesty or importance as elsewhere; imperial governments have not established judicial organs to operate on the same level and independently of a legislature or an administration; and the conduct of justice, combined with the social structure of imperial China, can only have militated against the impartial treatment of those less-privileged persons who were unfortunate enough to become involved in legal proceedings.

MICHAEL A. N. LOEWE.

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LOCAL GOVERNMENT IN CHINA UNDER THE CH'ING. By T'ung-tsu Ch'ü. pp. xiv + 359 + xlix. Harvard University Press; London: Oxford University Press. 1962. 76s.

Local magistrates were the senior officials of the departments (*chou*) and districts (*hsien*) of the Chinese empire, and constituted the agents of administration with whom the majority of the population came into contact. Virtually one-man governors in their areas, the magistrates were engaged mainly in the tasks of tax-collection, the maintenance of law and order, and the exercise of justice. Their duties were those of executive officials with somewhat limited responsibility; their standards of fair treatment were possibly tempered by the shortage of their emoluments and their consequent dependence on the collection of customary fees. Their success depended on the loyal co-operation of their subordinates. Of these the clerks possessed a superior knowledge of local precedent, and were often in positions where they could act arbitrarily towards the general population, beyond the reach of the magistrates' control. The government runners, who performed the tasks of jailers, messengers and policemen, seldom failed to exploit their position to engage in some form of extortion or corruption. To supervise these subordinates, who were engaged officially, magistrates relied on their personal servants, whom they employed and paid personally, and who would at times play the rôle of confidential advisers. Similarly, magistrates had usually received no training in specialist matters of administration; they therefore hired private secretaries

to tender technical advice over, e.g. legal matters, taxation, or book-keeping, and to assist in the preparation of the necessary registers. In the conduct of justice these secretaries were essential not only for their expert legal knowledge and their skill at documentation, but also as a means of protecting magistrates from the very severe penalties attendant on wrongful decisions. Both here and in other activities (e.g. tax-collection, the maintenance of security, the upkeep of communications, famine-relief) there was a wide divergence between institutional theory and local practice, with considerable scope for irregular manipulation. Members of the gentry played a complex rôle in the exercise of local government, being intermediaries between officialdom and the community; while supplementing the magistrates' deficiencies (i.e. local knowledge and funds available for local projects), they were also able to exploit social and economic privileges to their own advantage, so that conflicts with authority were of frequent occurrence.

In this comprehensive survey, Dr. Ch'ü ably presents the details of many features of local government with full documentation, and concludes that inefficiency was largely due to poor organization and lack of co-ordination. The book is an excellent example of the use made of Chinese records and writings, to provide an analysis of political conditions in a form acceptable to western historians.

MICHAEL A. N. LOEWE.

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SIBERIAN JOURNEY DOWN THE AMUR TO THE PACIFIC 1856-1857.

By P. McD. Collins, ed. by C. Vevier. pp. ix, 370; 2 illustrations, 4 maps. The University of Wisconsin Press, Madison, Wis. 1962. \$6.

We owe a deep debt of gratitude to Mr. Vevier for resuscitating in such a sympathetic and scholarly fashion a book, which, as its author would no doubt have said "first saw the light of day" just over a century ago. Connoisseurs of the preposterous will find in its enchanting pages a hundred gems of the first water to add to their collection; an American businessman temporarily in the employment of the Department of State dedicating his book to a Russian Lieutenant-General as a tribute to his "profound and beneficent policy on the Amoor River" (a policy which consisted chiefly in running military expeditions down the river from Russian territory and dropping garrisons at strategic points to keep the Chinese in their place) and informing the State Department with obvious satisfaction that he fully expected the Russians would very shortly "follow our example in the acquisition of Louisiana" and annex the whole of the Chinese Empire north of the Great Wall, with the cordial approbation of the oppressed Chinese natives, who would be delighted to see this indignity inflicted on their

hated Tartar rulers; the Russian Lieutenant-General (secure perhaps in the thought that, as he was already Governor-General of Eastern Siberia, he could hardly be exiled there) informing that American that "he was most happy to have the opportunity to introduce an American to the Amoor" and would ensure that he should see the whole country and have every facility that his power and influence could secure; and the American in return assuring him, *à propos* of the fact that one of his letters had been opened by the Russian censors, that "America has no secrets she would conceal from so noble a friend as she finds in you". Side by side with these entrancing glimpses of a bygone golden age, we find passages that might have been written yesterday, descriptions of the grim horrors of the Siberian winter, and the indomitable courage of the Russians and native Siberians in confronting it, the engaging determination of an American businessman to see all the sights within reach, whatever the discomforts involved, and the boundless hospitality extended to him by Russian hosts whom he had never seen before. Over some passages hangs the tantalizing question, "Is it the same now?" In the course of his travels Mr. Collins and a party of Russians crossed the frontier to dine with a Chinese merchant at Maimaicheng, and were invited to see over his house. "I do not remember who proposed to make a visit of inspection to the kitchen, but the ladies eagerly seconded the motion, anxious to get a glimpse at the interior of Chinese cookery. A glance was sufficient. The ladies silently retreated the instant they reached the threshold, and we followed them with little delay. The walls of the kitchen were covered with paintings as large as life of the most grossly obscene character". Can we hope that these artistic masterpieces still survive, or have they been overpainted with life size portraits of chairman Mao and other Communist worthies? The book is not only eminently readable, but contains a great deal of important historical information. There is only one serious criticism to be made. The bibliography is extensive and includes not only printed books but also the relevant documents in the National Archive of the United States, but it does not mention a single book in Russian. The value of the book would have been greatly increased if references at any rate to some of the standard Russian authorities had been added. No-one would describe Mr. Collins as an expert ethnographer but he was a keen and shrewd observer of native life. A comparison of his table of the estimated numbers of the local tribes (one Palaeoasiatic, the rest Tungus) in the Amur basin with the figures of the 1926-27 census quoted in *Narody Sibiri* ("the Peoples of Siberia"), Moscow - Leningrad, 1956, show differences of only a few hundreds. Other comparisons of this kind would have been of great interest.

GERARD CLAUSON.



JAPANESE DECORATIVE ART; A HANDBOOK FOR COLLECTORS AND CONNOISSEURS. By Martin Feddersen. Tr. by Katherine Watson. pp. 296, 8 coloured plates and 239 illustrations. Bibliography. Faber and Faber, London, 1962. £2 12s. 6d.

Dr. Feddersen has sought to do for Japanese decorative art what he has already done so well for that of China. Unfortunately he has been less successful, and while there is no doubt of the usefulness of his exposition, or of the penetrating nature of some of his comments, the relationships between the arts and the motives of decoration are less well demonstrated than in his earlier work. The chapters on metalwork and lacquer, particularly, read rather like reference lists. Unhappily this has resulted in a loss of unity, which is one of the striking features of the volume on China. For all this the careful explanation of Japanese technical terms, together with the admirable index and bibliography, makes this a useful addition to one's shelves for the purpose of quick reference.

M. MEDLEY.

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SUBSTANCE AND SYMBOL IN CHINESE TOGGLES: CHINESE BELT TOGGLES FROM THE C. F. BIEBER COLLECTION. By Schuyler Cammann. pp. 256 + 2 pls. illus. University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia, 1962. \$15.

That the study of so slight and such an apparently unlikely subject as Chinese toggles should yield a book of the size of this one is a tribute to the industry of Dr. Cammann, and a demonstration of the extent to which his own interest in Chinese symbolism and ethnographical problems has increased over the last few years. With the material available in Miss Bieber's collection, he has attempted to classify the different types of toggles, but in the classification which he proposes there is much overlapping, and a simpler one would probably be more practical for persons who may have the ambition to make similar collections. A classification based on the materials or on the subjects of decoration might well have proved illuminating.

How far does a correlation exist between the amuletic value of the material used and the symbolism of the decoration? That it does so in some cases is clear without having to switch backwards and forwards from text to illustration. Secondly, to what extent was the expression of *yin-yang* consciously sought, and how far is this expression related to other aspects of symbolism? Such questions remain unanswered, and little attempt has been made to reach any kind of conclusion, so that the book, although containing much interesting material, remains no more than a guide catalogue of a slightly disorganized kind, a little disappointing after Dr. Cammann's earlier publications. But the lists of terms, names, and puns, together with the characters, are useful for general reference, and the index seems to be fairly comprehensive.

M. MEDLEY.

CHINESE AND JAPANESE CLOISONNÉ ENAMELS. By Sir Harry Garner. pp. 120 + 102 pls. Faber and Faber, London, 1962. £3 10s.

The scientist who turns his attention to the history of art, does not necessarily succeed in proving that this can be of benefit to the progress of research in the subject. In Sir Harry Garner we are fortunate in having a scientist, who, by combining an unusual knowledge of metallurgy and metalworking with an enlightened and scholarly curiosity, has done much to advance our knowledge in the last few years, especially in specific aspects of the applied arts. In the present instance he has applied himself to a much neglected and little appreciated Chinese craft. He has traced the origins of cloisonné enamelling in China back to their Western Asiatic source in a way that is wholly convincing. He then examines the development of the craft, using scientific methods at almost every stage to check that development, so that a provisional chronology can be put forward, that does not depend almost exclusively upon stylistic criteria. Sir Harry Garner's great achievement, in the field of Chinese art history, is that he is gradually forcing our researches in the crafts on to a more securely scientific basis. In the process, however, he is revealing our lamentable ignorance of the social and economic history, especially of the Ming Dynasty, as this affects the arts. I do not doubt that this pioneering study, with its excellent choice of illustration, will stimulate research not only in the subject with which it is immediately concerned, but also in related subjects, and into the history of the Ming and early Ch'ing periods. With regard to history, it is abundantly clear that it will be vital in the next few years to investigate the organization of the Palace departments, and the system of control and supervision of labour under these, and under the *Kung-pu*. It is to be hoped that the historians will turn their attention seriously to these interesting and somewhat complex problems, that are outside the competence of the art historian. Sir Harry's plea, implicit in this book, for more intensive use of up-to-date archaeological research methods is only part of this whole problem of historical studies, and perhaps as important is the need for much closer co-operation between specialists working on different branches of Chinese culture. This is especially desirable now that fieldwork in China is not possible for most European experts.

M. MEDLEY.

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THE ART OF CHINESE POETRY. By James J. Y. Liu. pp. xvi + 166. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1962. 30s.

Useful information about various aspects of Chinese poetry can be gleaned from the writings of Waley, Hightower, Fang and others, but up to now there has been no authoritative study of book length. To the present study Professor Liu brings a wide knowledge not only of Chinese, English and French literature, but also of the writings of English critics, particularly the 'New Criticism' as it is called.

The book is divided into three main sections. The first, 'The Chinese Language as a Medium of Poetic Expression', examines Chinese prosody and a number of common poetic themes. The second, 'Some Traditional Chinese Views on Poetry', surveys a representative selection of Chinese critical opinion throughout the ages. The third, 'Towards a Synthesis', analyzes a number of poems into their components of imagery, symbolism, allusion, quotation, derivation, and antithesis.

The book is illustrated throughout with the author's own translations of Chinese poems, the usefulness of which is greatly enhanced by an excellent six-page finding list in Chinese characters.

Since the book is intended as much for students of comparative literature as for sinologues, Mr. Liu is obliged to begin with some basic facts about the Chinese language, script, etc., so for many readers the opening section will be of somewhat limited interest. But once he embarks on the criticism proper, and particularly in the later sections of analysis, Mr. Liu's book proves of absorbing interest, and all who love Chinese poetry will feel grateful to him for having presented the subject to the non-linguist in a worthy manner.

D. HAWKES.

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THE PENGUIN BOOK OF CHINESE VERSE. Tr. by Robert Kotewall and Norman L. Smith; introduced and ed. by A. R. Davis. pp. lxxi + 84. Middlesex: Penguin Books, 1962. 4s.

Inevitably this book differs somewhat in plan from the other volumes in this excellent series. Whereas they consist of original text with a small-letter translation at the foot of the page, this volume contains translation only and no text. It is much smaller than the other volumes; for example, the *Penguin Book of German Verse* contains 450 pages of translation against this book's 74 pages — a fact which will seem startling to any one aware of the vastness and variety of Chinese poetry. Not only is the selection a very short one, but the items selected are themselves nearly all short poems. Moreover the selection is by no means representative: Ch'in Chia and Hsü Shu occupy nearly twice as much space as T'ao Yüan-ming, and Li Yü four times as much as Wang Wei, while the modern (Republican) period is represented only by Liu Ta-pai, Hu Shih and Ping Hsin. However, this is not intended as adverse criticism of the translators. In the very first sentence of the Introduction it is stated that when they compiled the anthology they had no intention of illustrating the history of Chinese poetry.

There are, indeed, two respects in which this anthology is *more* representative than many previous volumes: it contains a substantial amount of poetry of the Sung, Ming and Ch'ing periods; and it contains a substantial number of poems of the *tz'ü* genre.

The translations themselves are pleasant, accomplished and as a rule fairly accurate. As an introduction to Chinese poetry their

usefulness is greatly increased by the excellent table of contents with biographical notes and the long and interesting introduction, both by Professor Davis. It can be said, without in any way detracting from one's respect for the translators, that a half-measure of the book's success is due to him.

D. HAWKES.

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CHINESE LITERATURE. A HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION. By Ch'en Shou-yi. 655 pp. New York: Ronald Press, 1961. \$8.75.

This book is an ambitious attempt to cover the history of Chinese literature from the Shang oracle bones to the recent attacks by Communist critics on the literary followers of Hu Shih. It is far more detailed and comprehensive than anything on the subject which has so far appeared in the West, and is amply illustrated with translated passages from the works described. It is therefore regrettable that the book was rushed into print in its present unsatisfactory state.

A wild inconsistency as to romanization, typography, the translation of titles, and even dates and facts, prevails throughout the book; the translations are many of them risible or jejune; the English abounds in solecisms of every kind; the opinions expressed are trivial or banal. Perhaps the book's most grievous flaw is its seeming lack of plan. A work or an author will be described at some length in one chapter only to reappear in a passage of equal or greater length in another with maybe some of the facts altered and apparently no awareness of the previous mention. The climax of absurdity is reached in the index, which gives separate entries for different English versions of the same Chinese title with no cross-reference to show that the work referred to is in each case the same.

Obviously one cannot, with the best will in the world, recommend so confusing a compilation to the student, though there is a pressing need for a full history of Chinese literature. Another year or so of correction and revision might have turned this into a book of immeasurably greater value.

D. HAWKES.

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CHINESE ARCHITECTURE AND TOWN PLANNING 1500 B.C. - A.D. 1911.

By Andrew Boyd. pp. vi + 166. 158 illustrations. Alec Tiranti, London. 1962. 40s.

There are very few surviving examples of Chinese architecture prior to those of the Ming period, and statements regarding earlier developments must rest on the evidence of clay models, paintings and a few descriptive texts. In addition, tradition has exercised a profound influence on both architecture and town planning, and some conclusions regarding very early practice can be drawn from later examples. The late Mr. Boyd's account is inevitably a

descriptive list of different features of buildings and towns rather than a study of the different types of development and their social and economic implications. There are several general, oversimplified statements in the book, particularly in the account of the historical background. Mr. Boyd is better as an architect than as a sinologist, and the most valuable chapters of this book are those concerned with structural principles and engineering works. The 158 photographs chosen for inclusion have been selected with skill, but the quality of the reproduction could sometimes be improved.

MICHAEL A. N. LOEWE.

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THE TSUNGLI YAMEN: ITS ORGANIZATION AND FUNCTIONS. By S. M. Meng. pp. 146. Harvard University Press; London: Oxford University Press. 1962. 20s.

The *Tsungli Yamen* has been variously viewed as a mark of the concerted effort of the Chinese to restore the dignity and authority of the Chinese government (Professor Mary Wright) or as an ineffectual old-style office, operating in a casual amateurish manner (Fan Wen-lan and others). Dr. Meng regards the office as a victim of the circumstances in which it was established, being disdained by its creators as a sop to appease the westerner, and being dependent for its powers on the personalities of its leaders. Despite the changes introduced in 1864, inherent weaknesses of organization seriously impaired the efficiency of the office, presided over though it was by some of the most senior and eminent men of the day. The executive authority of the office was weakened by the powers of provincial officials or imperial commissioners, and the scope for the exercise of initiative was small. On the credit side, the *Tsungli Yamen* was responsible for promoting education in European languages and for the adoption of western techniques so as to modernize China's industries and communications.

Dr. Meng's account, which is backed by a full documentation, consists of a doctoral thesis presented in 1949; there has been no opportunity of recasting the study or for revision in the light of material made available since then. Parts of the book could be abbreviated, with considerable profit to the general reader, and its value could be improved by the addition of full translations of certain key documents.

MICHAEL A. N. LOEWE.

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CHINA. By Victor Purcell. pp. 324 with map. Ernest Benn. 1962. 37s. 6d.

This volume, in Benn's series "Nations of the Modern World", provides the general reader with a sympathetic discussion of the New China up to about 1958. The arrangement is topical and a



method of presentation frequently employed is the confrontation of hostile and friendly points of view, between which the author adjudicates. A comprehensive view of the development of government policy as a connected whole is lacking. The author's own attitude is disguised; indeed he warns his readers that this, like most other more general works on this controversial subject, is a "one man's China".

Dr. Purcell emphasizes the continuity in Chinese life and clearly feels that the present government is based on the rational allegiance of the Chinese people. A recurrent theme is the contrast between the present state of affairs and the conditions of the "Golgotha" of the late Kuomintang period and earlier. Another is the use of "Tu quoque" arguments in dealing with Western preconceptions or illusions such as Democracy or The Family. As the author maintains that the information available to the public through the press is heavily coloured by the demands of the Cold War, such arguments are intended to reopen the reader's mind.

Introductory sections deal with the general cultural background and with the historical background of the hundred years before 1949. The latter is perhaps too impressionistic, and in view of the book's main subject it is unfortunate that more information on the previous history of the Communist movement is not given. The bibliography is extremely scant. Despite this, the book will give the general reader a non-technical account designed to upset hostile preconceptions.

PATRICK CAVENDISH.

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THE BOXER REBELLION. A BACKGROUND STUDY. By Victor Purcell. pp. vii + 349 including two appendices, bibliography, index and two maps. Cambridge University Press, 1963. 45s.

Dr. Purcell makes available to the English reader a great deal of information on the Boxer movement in an easily accessible form. While Chester Tan's work considered the Uprising largely as a crisis in China's foreign relations, this work sets out to describe the character of the Boxer movement and its historical origins, and to sketch its late nineteenth-century background. The author refuses to dismiss his subject as mob and mumbo-jumbo or its past as a mere "cloudy pedigree", and succeeds in giving substance and colour to a movement which is a vague episode for many students of China.

The kernel of the book is a discussion of the reappearance of the Boxers in Shantung, and their adoption of the slogan "Support the Ch'ing" after the engagement with government forces at P'ingyuan. A history of the antecedents of the movement and an interesting description of its beliefs and practices complete what the author describes as a "slow-motion cinematography" of the Boxers, in contrast to the brief summary of the crisis of 1900 which follows. Extensive use is made of the materials collected and published in

China in recent years which have reopened this subject. These are Dr. Purcell's basis for the fullest discussion of the change of slogan published so far.

These sections on the Boxer movement itself are preceded by useful summaries of the Chinese government system, the character of Chinese society and the international crisis of 1895-99. Dr. Purcell's strong point in constructing these chapters is his consideration of many different points of view.

The two appendices deal with Ch'ing Shan's Diary and with Missionary archives in London. A comprehensive bibliography is provided.

PATRICK CAVENDISH.

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A JAPANESE READER. Ed. by Roy Andrew Miller. 250 pp. Charles E. Tuttle Co. of Rutland, Vermont and Tokyo, Japan. 1962. £3 3s. or \$7.50.

This attractive book consists of two main parts: one of Japanese written material in 75 sections, and the other of a vocabulary and reading notes for each of these sections. The Japanese material ranges from individual words spelt out in *kana* to extracts from novels and articles on a wide range of subjects; and the time and care that have clearly been devoted to the explanatory part provide the student with a detailed guide to the various aspects of the modern written language.

The provision of this information in conjunction with a wide range of Japanese texts is long overdue and, when a book appears which does it as carefully and professionally as this, one would like to welcome it unreservedly. Some reservation is felt, however, about two of its features, the treatment of Chinese characters and the approach to the definitions given for words and phrases. Chinese characters — which in any case appear haphazardly, since the material used was not composed with this in mind — are dealt with merely by referring the student to another book from the same publisher; and if 'as many as possible of the essential 881 characters are introduced through Lesson 30' (that is, in what is in fact some 15 pages of Japanese text), the beginner faces a stiff initiation into this mysterious world. In the vocabularies and reading notes, the few instances of factual mistakes such as the misidentification of *hanamatsuri* (p. 60) are unimportant in such a work, but the policy of giving strictly translational equivalents to words often leads to unhappy results. The emphatic particle *koso*, for example, is defined only as 'particularly, precisely (because . . .)', an equivalent which makes sense only for the particular context and which will leave anyone who needs a definition nonplussed when he meets the word elsewhere. Instead of such equivalents or 'a vast, prolix dictionary entry', which the editor seeks to avoid, the aim should surely be to give the basic meaning or meanings and thereby to lead the student to decide for himself the particular shade of meaning in the context with which he is faced.

Such criticisms are, however, overshadowed by the solid worth of the book, which will be particularly valuable to students at an intermediate stage in the reading of Japanese.

P. G. O'NEILL.

## Near and Middle East

THE GREATNESS THAT WAS BABYLON. By H. W. F. Saggs. pp. xix + 562, 66 plates. Sidgwick and Jackson, London. 1962. 63s.

In spite of its somewhat misleading title (designed to link it with others in a semi-popular series) this useful work is a reliable matter-of-fact sketch, necessarily selective, of the civilizations (Sumerian, Babylonian and Assyrian) of the Tigris-Euphrates valley from prehistoric to New-Babylonian times, with a serviceable outline of the political history. Its special value is that it is completely up-to-date and often supplements and corrects the standard works in English. Dr. Saggs, Reader in Akkadian in London University, is fully informed and is sound in his judgments. Especially notable is his critical examination of political administration and communal activities, including the rôle of the king. There are two competent chapters on religion and the mythical, epic and wisdom literature. Mathematics, astronomy, medicine, chemical technology and artistic methods are treated more briefly and a final chapter assesses the debt of the modern world to the ancient Mesopotamian peoples.

The book is well indexed and contains besides three (rather inadequate) sketch-maps nearly a hundred fine photogravure illustrations (almost all, however, of hackneyed subjects) and over a dozen text-figures. There are also useful skeleton tables of comparative chronology. A valuable feature is the twenty-five pages of classified bibliographies of the most recent books and periodical articles. This largely compensates for the almost complete absence of source-references within the text. The book well deserves a place in university, museum and general libraries.

Cecil J. Mullo Weir.

IRANICA ANTIQUA, Volumen I. Sous la direction de R. Ghirshman and L. Vanden Berghe. pp. 204 + 38 plates + 3 maps. E. J. Brill, Leyden. 1961. 35 guilders.

This new journal on the art and archaeology of the Iranian peoples is a welcome indication of a reviving interest. The need for a successor to such discontinued series as *Archäologische Mitteilungen aus Iran* is noticed in the Foreword. In 'The Iranian prehistoric

project, 1959-60' Robert J. Braidwood, describing operations near Kirmanshah, concludes: 'It would appear that, following the incipience and achievement of the village-farming community way of life along the Zagros flanks natural habitat zone during the time-range of our Models 4 and 5 (c. 11,000 - 9,000) this part of Iran then proceeded in the direction of a cultural development which was regionally its own.' L. de Meyer discusses 'Une famille susienne du temps des Sukalmahhu', and Yolande Maléki describes a Luristan *situla* with banquet scenes.

In 'Les Scythes de l'Aral et le Khorezm' S. P. Tolstov presents results from his archaeological surveys. A find of laminated armour is an important novelty. Unexpectedly, he depends more on Classical authors than on archaeology for localizations, occasionally disputable, of tribal names. With Tarn, he argues that the 'Apasiacae', besides pastoralism, themselves undertook irrigation farming, but here as elsewhere an Achaemenian heritage in Chorasmia is not recognized. By identifying the Pasiāni with the Apasiacae, and the Asiāni with the Wusun, the author rejects Vaillant's famous emendation 'Ἀσιότι ἢ Ἀσιόνοι' in Strabo XI, p. 511. The identification of the Ta-Yue-tche with the Massagetae (not the Tochari) is also unfamiliar. If substantiated, the distinction would be significant between burials attributed to the Apasiacae, and certain 'tumuli à scories' with cremations, assigned to the Sacaraucae. In 'Grundriss einer historischen Paläographie der Kušānmünzen', R. Göbl has a useful index of the Greek letters found. His charts suffer from the inclusion of blundered forms, so that sixty-eight variants are attributed to the letter *nu*. Greater selectivity here would have better revealed the essentials, and the rejection of Sir Aurel Stein's decipherment of Τειρο 'Tir' on a coin of Huviška seems quite arbitrary. Geo. Widengren writes on 'The status of the Jews in the Sassanian Empire'. L. Vanden Berghe's 'Récentes découvertes de monuments sassanides dans le Fars' is likely to remain the standard reference on fire-temples in this province. Many hitherto unrecorded examples are illustrated, notably the religious precinct of Kunār Siāh. With a map and 45 photographs, the standard of illustration matches the importance of his material. Enthusiasts for the ancient art of Iran will wish this lively journal every future success.

A. D. H. BIVAR.

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A DESCRIPTIVE GRAMMAR OF EPIGRAPHIC SOUTH ARABIAN. By A. F. L. Beeston. vii + 80 pp. London: Luzac and Co., Ltd. 1962. 16s.

Professor Beeston has long been highly respected for his work on the South Arabian inscriptions, but until recently he was virtually the only British academic in a field largely dominated by French and German scholars. Lately, however, more English-speaking students have shown interest in pre-Islamic South Arabia, but the German monopoly of grammatical studies has been a hindrance to their work.

In producing this grammar, avowedly designed to make the results of up-to-date researches into ESA available to the non-specialist, Professor Beeston has met a long felt want. He has limited his observations to purely grammatical description and rarely makes any statements on a comparative basis with other Semitic languages. In this respect his grammar differs from that of Maria Höfner (*Altsüdarabische Grammatik*, Leipzig, 1943), which, though rather out of date, is thus not entirely superseded by the present work. Yet it is possible to detect where the author's leanings lie: he recognizes a morphological affinity of ESA with modern South Arabic and the Abyssinian Semitic languages rather than with North Arabic. As so often in Semitic grammars, syntax is not thoroughly examined. However the author does note many stylistic points in the inscriptions which would seem to repay further investigation. In general the work is lucidly presented and, as far as can be judged, accurate, but a few minor points may be noted. In §4 : 11 the statement that original  $\bar{g} > \text{ESA}$  'may be conditioned by immediate contact with an  $r$  should be modified in the light of the fact that the last two examples quoted, 'rf and 'rs<sup>3</sup>, are broken plurals whose singular forms probably showed a vowel between the first and second radicals. In §21 : 8 it is stated that in R 4775.2 *yhtmynn* (a plural verb) has a singular subject, *m'hq*. I prefer to see the subject in the words  $s^2[']bn/[s^1b']$  in 11. 2-3. For  $s^2b$  with a plural verb cf. R 4329.1. In §29 : 7 the reading *nhlhn* in R 4781.1 is an error for *nhlhnn*, as the author recognizes on p. 47 and p. 74 note 110. A few mistyped words in the text should not trouble the reader but the lack of an index and of paradigms may be regarded as a slight disadvantage.

A. K. IRVINE.

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ÉTUDES D'ORIENTALISME DÉDIÉES À LA MÉMOIRE DE LÉVI-PROVENÇAL.  
vols. 2, pp. xxx + 813. Ills. 21. 1962. NF. 227,50.

Sixty learned men have united to do honour to a great scholar, one by writing an appreciation of the man and the others by writing on the subjects to which he had devoted his life. There is also a list of his publications. The contributions are in either French or Spanish and the subjects range from theology to food, drink, and cookery. This last gives an answer to an uncertainty in Murray's dictionary; *mawmenny* (various spellings) comes from *ma'mūniyya*, a food often given to women after childbirth. Most of the articles deal with Islam in the western Mediterranean world. To get criticism over early. Twenty-two pages of Arabic text were written on a typewriter and this has been reproduced. It is a tricky job to produce good-looking Arabic on a typewriter unless you know the peculiarities of the machine. In this specimen what should be united has been divided and what ought to have been separated has been joined together, producing short-lived conundrums. These pages are unworthy of the rest of the work. There are also some misprints. In one or two places the translation is guess-work. The



subject of this text is land revenue with special reference to *Agri-gentum*. A party settled there without asking permission of the government; a second party came, tried to drive out the first and, in the ensuing fight, there were casualties. Complaint to the government brought an army which killed many of the first settlers. Much later the inhabitants were asked to fell trees to build ships for the holy war; they refused because they were soldiers, not wood-cutters and left the district, whereupon the government brought in fresh settlers. After this history the document contains a discussion of the rights of the several waves of settlers to the land and their obligations. The evidence was conflicting, so it was a god-send to the lawyers.

Several items deal with the *Mālikī* school of law and one makes the point that the *Fātimid* resolve to conquer Egypt was due, in part, to the conviction that the *Mālikī* school would always be hostile and would not allow them permanent peace in Tunisia and further west. A long article on *Averroes* as a jurist differs from the other legal articles as it is concerned with the man rather than with the fortunes of the school. Though a *Mālikī*, he often preferred the judgements of *Shāfi'ī*. At the end of his law book he co-ordinated the legal rules with the principles of ethics, both individual and social, for the individual can exist only in society. Here, as in the other subjects on which he wrote, general principles precede and control problems of detail. He might almost be called the forerunner of the lawyers of the present day who have made codes by taking rulings, which fitted modern conditions, careless whether the originator belonged to any school or none. "Heralds of Independence" is a series of attractive notes on scholars and their works during the present century. The *Cairo Geniza* provides information about trade in Tunisia in the V–XI century as carried on by Jewish firms; naturally there is not much about politics. An analysis of the criticism of Christian theology by *Bāqillānī* (†403/1013) shows that it is a selection from the arguments of *Abū 'Isā Muḥammad b. Hārūn al-Warrāq* (†247/861) which are preserved in the reply of *Yahyā b. 'Adī*.

It is impossible to notice all the contributions but the standard of interest is high.

A. S. TRITTON.

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TIBB-UL-NABBI OR MEDICINE OF THE PROPHET, being a Translation of Two Works of the same name, together with introduction, notes and a glossary. By Cyril Elgood. pp. 159. Reprint from *Osiris*. Vol. 14. Bruges, 1962. 10s.

The orthodox followers of Muhammad — the Sunnis — derive all authority from the Quran and from the six authentic books of Tradition. These books enshrine the sayings of the Prophet with the interpretation put upon them by acknowledged authorities together with the words and deeds of the Companions of the Prophet. One section — *al-Hadith* — contains only the very words of the Prophet

himself and this book contains the medical 'hadith' with interpretations. The translator has added an interesting introduction, and some helpful notes. Several versions of Tibb-ul-Nabbi are known but only two are here given, the longer and more important being that written down by al-Suyuti (A.D. 1445-1505).

Arabian Medicine, which flourished in the Middle Ages, though containing elements of folk-lore and to a certain extent based upon the sayings of the Prophet, soon accepted a good deal of Greek, Indian and even Chinese medicine, so long as the new doctrines did not contravene the Prophet's teaching as interpreted by recognized authorities. Lately Western Medicine has been more generally accepted but in remote parts older practices survive.

This account of al-Suyuti is divided into three parts:— (1) The Rules of Medicine, (2) Drugs and Food, and (3) Treatment of Disease.

In the first part we see the influence of Greek Medicine, for the Constitution of Man is said to have seven components which are respectively the four elements, the four humours, the nine temperaments, the fundamental organs, the spirits, the faculties and the functions. In this section is included the choice saying of the Prophet David — "Health is a crown on the heads of the healthy, seen only by the sick".

In the section on Food we note that the Prophet said "Cover your vessels", a very important precaution in the East. The influence of the emotions is described and we are told "a man who suffers much from grief should busy himself in what makes him forget himself". Section Three on Treatment contains the statement that the Prophet permitted treatment by drugs, for medicine was one of the enduring traditions, though drinking medicine prescribed by a polytheist was anathema. The abstention from wine of the followers of the Prophet may have followed his saying that "Wine is a disease and not a medicine".

An unusual medicine was listening to the music of singing — "it is among the most important kinds of psychological medicine". The study of medicine was encouraged for "it is abominable that a man should be called a physician who has no knowledge of the art of medicine". There was also a moral aspect to sickness: "Verily sickness is the strongest incentive for a Believer to repent, to speak the truth, to do penance for his sins and to raise himself Heavenward".

The Medical Sayings of the Prophet cannot be judged by Western standards. As interpreted by his followers they are a mixture of commonsense, superstitions, and a modicum of Hippocratic and Galenic medicine. The translator has done a good service by making a translation available to English readers. Reprints can be obtained from the author from 'L'Amitié', Praslin, Seychelles.

ZACHARY COPE.

DICTIONNAIRE DES AUTORITÉS DE 'ABD AL-MU'MIN AD-DIMYĀTĪ.  
Ed. by G. Vajda. (Publications de l'Institut de Recherche et  
d'Histoire des Textes, Documents, Études et Répertoires, VII.)  
pp. 220. Paris. 1962. 30 Fr.

It became the custom for a Muslim scholar to compose his *curriculum vitae* detailing the masters under whom he had studied and the books he had read. Many of these lists survive and some are substantial volumes. Some were read as if they were text books. The list, which is the subject of the present publication, is unusual in being limited to traditions and reporters of tradition. 'Abd al-Mu'min b. Khalaf (A.D. 1217-1306) is said to have heard 1,300 teachers; the present list is not complete but another list of 155 names contains 36 which are absent here. The body of this book is the alphabetical list of traditionists with their dates, references to biographical dictionaries and other works (some of them still in manuscript), a few autobiographical details, and references to Brockelmann's *History of Arabic Literature*. There is a list of the author's journeys. There are indices of names beginning "son of", of followers of the four schools of canon law and of the certificates granted to those who had read part or parts of the book. A full description of the two volumes of the MS. is given. It must have been heart-breaking work trying to identify all the unimportant people named here; future scholars will have cause to bless the editor who has made their task easier.

A. S. TRITTON.

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ELENCO DI DRAMMI RELIGIOSI PERSIANI (Fondo MSS. Vaticani Cerulli). By Ettore Rossi and Alessio Bombaci. (Studi e Testi. 209.) pp. lx + 416. Città del Vaticano, 1961.

This is a catalogue of the 1,055 religious dramas in manuscript collected by Enrico Cerulli during his stay as Italian Ambassador in Persia (1950-54). On his return to Italy, he presented the entire collection to the Vatican Library and Ettore Rossi devoted the last years of his life to the present catalogue which was completed by Professor Bombaci. The result is a valuable contribution to our knowledge of a field in which much still awaits investigation, despite the pioneer work of Gobineau, Pelly, Chodzko and others which is discussed in the introduction. The authors' very detailed analysis of the collection reveals that the manuscripts are of varied provenance and are largely of recent date. The two earliest (late eighteenth century?) show some appreciable development from the original theme of the *ta'ziyeh* — the Martyrdom at Karbalā — which, according to the authors, indicates that the drama in Persia is rather older than is commonly believed. The popular view that it originated under the Safavids as a vehicle for Shi'ah propaganda has yet to be disproved. It is to be hoped that this catalogue will provide a useful stimulus and an aid to further research.

G. M. MEREDITH-OWENS.

HISTORIANS OF THE MIDDLE EAST. (Historical writing on the peoples of Asia Series.) Ed. by B. Lewis and P. M. Holt. pp. xi + 519. Oxford University Press, 1962. 50s.

This collection of papers was prepared for a "study conference" held in the School of Oriental and African Studies, London, and have as their common theme historical writing on the Middle East since the rise of Islam. The topics for study are classified in three groups: (I) Arabic, Persian and Turkish historiography before the impact of Western influences. Here we have papers on the biography of the Prophet by Ibn Ishaq, the influence of the biblical tradition on Muslim historiography, the Iraq school of history to the ninth century, Islamic biographical literature (and another special paper on Persian biographical literature); or in another genre a thorough investigation of the chronicles available for the Seljūq period (marred by somewhat odd English). The paper on the Muslim historiography of the Crusades contains suggestive remarks, and the detailed comparison of some passages in Juwaynī and Rashīd al-Dīn on episodes of Mongol history is illuminating. There are papers on Ottoman historiography and two excellent (though partly overlapping) studies on the historians of the Lebanon. Lack of space prevents enumeration of all the articles, some of which are, however, of a rather trivial nature.

Part II, on European historical writing on the Middle East, contains articles on the Byzantine historians of the Ottomans, Renaissance historical literature in relation to the Middle East, various historians from the seventeenth to the twentieth centuries (among them an interesting article on Henri Lammens), and an article on historical writing on the Sudan since 1820. Two papers deal with Soviet historiography on Central Asia in the ninth and tenth centuries (i.e. mainly on the Sāmānid and Karakhānid dynasties) and modern Iran, respectively.

Among the papers in Part III: "Modern Middle Eastern historical writing" we may mention the paper on the great Egyptian historian of the early nineteenth century, al-Jabartī, the papers on the historiography of the nineteenth century in Egypt, and in Turkey, and that on modern Iranian historiography.

Part IV, entitled "General Themes", includes two articles: one (partly written in obscure sociological jargon) being a critique of the approach of some modern Islamic authors to history, determined by their own aspirations, another offering thoughts (questionable at times) on the different meanings of the word Islam exemplified (rather eccentrically) from book-titles containing it. An introduction by a third author lucidly discusses some of the points raised in the articles themselves.

S. M. STERN.

THE EMERGENCE OF MODERN TURKEY. By Bernard Lewis. pp. 511. 8 plates. 3 maps. Issued under the auspices of the Royal Institute of International Affairs, Oxford University Press, 1961. 48s.

Of all the books that have appeared in recent years on the evolution of modern Turkey, this is by far the most detailed and authoritative survey of the subject and can be recommended to the historian and the general reader alike. It is, above all, a history from the Turkish angle rather than from the standpoint of the foreign observer. The book is divided into two parts, the first of which covers the stages of emergence—the decay of the traditional Ottoman institutions and the impact of the West which first made itself felt in the long overdue reform of the army to carry on the fight for survival with the assistance of foreign advisers. This led to further adoption of Western ideas which sometimes proved to be better in theory than in practice when applied to Turkish society until Atatürk closed the door on the *Ottoman* past, making the Anatolian homeland the centre of government and completing the transformation of Turkey into a Western state. The first part ends with an account of the events leading up to the victory of the Democrat Party in 1950.

The second part is perhaps the more interesting in that it deals with the aspects of change—the growth of the idea of nationality, Pan-Turkism and the Millets, the effect on Islam and the cultural background.

With its novel approach and extensive use of both Turkish and Western sources, this book will be assured of a place among those essential for the student of Middle Eastern history in years to come.

G. M. MEREDITH-OWENS.

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FOUNDERS OF MODERN EGYPT. By Mary Rowlatt. 183 pp. Illustrations (10 pages). Asia Publishing House, London. 1962. 35s.

This is a study in national character. The author's love of Egypt, which many will remember from an earlier book *A Family in Egypt*, makes her wish passionately that there should be understanding between that country and Britain.

She takes as the focal point of her picture the year 1882, when the bombardment of Alexandria and the subsequent defeat of 'Urābī at Tel-el-Kebir inaugurated the British occupation. From the numerous actors in that tangled drama she selects two—Ahmad 'Urābī the soldier and Mohammed Abduh the thinker—as representative of the national consciousness then coming to birth. Plans and aspirations, formulated by them in the 1870's, have come to fulfilment only in the 1950's. They played a major part in forming "that nebulous and delicate thing which is the budding of a nation's personality".



Miss Rowlatt presents a crowded canvas, more of a montage than a connected picture. The supporting characters are vividly etched, and the narrators paint their own portraits in contemporary letters and diaries. Savory and Moore's young chemist at the court of the Khedive Ismā'il witnesses the abdication. Miss Rowlatt's grandfather keeps the waterworks going while British shells fall on Alexandria. A young Highlander on the battlefield writes his account of Tel-el-Kebir. These are some examples of the riches of fresh source material.

The real point of the book is to penetrate the mind and heart of 'Urābī and Abduh. The material is there, but the portraits do not quite satisfy. These two great Egyptians ought to point us to their nation's character and rôle in history. Of Mohammed Abduh Mr. Gooch says in his foreword, "What nobler career can be conceived than that of a builder of bridges between different continents, races and faiths?" Does that describe Egypt's destiny today, at the crossroads of three continents?

The 'Urābī story has always been of interest in India. The Asia Publishing House are to be congratulated on producing this thoughtful and excellently printed book, first for their Indian public and now in Britain.

C. WADDY.

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THE MORPHOLOGY OF THE TIGRE NOUN. By F. R. Palmer. (School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London. London Oriental Series, Vol. 13.) xi + 96 pp. Oxford University Press, 1962. 35s.

This book sets out to describe the morphology of the noun in what is linguistically the most neglected of the Semitic languages of Ethiopia. The importance of Tigre in Ethiopian comparative linguistics has long been recognized. However, it is alien to the author's purpose to discuss the problem from this aspect. His analysis is purely descriptive and he limits his researches to the Mensa dialect as spoken in Mehleb, near Keren, where he personally gathered his materials. Only one informant was used. As a preliminary a very interesting and useful statement of the phonology of the language is given. The establishment of a framework within which to set out the facts was complicated, as the semantic and morphological classes are not readily reconcilable. However the singular form of each word is taken as a basis and this is defined as the un-suffixed form, not being a broken plural, though occasionally suffixed forms must be quoted. The plurals, broken and suffixed, were comparatively simple to classify. But the most interesting section is devoted to the derivatives. Tigre is remarkable in having developed a wide range of suffixed forms to denote such ideas as diminutive, augmentative, pejorative and the like. There are eight semantic classes as against six morphological classes and the author has presented a lucid analysis of these which suggests that the derivatives of any given basic form may be predicted to a marked

degree. Included in the analysis are pronominal suffixes and adjectives and a vocabulary arranged according to the morphological classes is appended. The work is very carefully and lucidly carried out and should prove of great interest to all students of Ethiopian Semitics, but the rejection of a comparative approach tends to obscure much that is otherwise readily explicable. And it is doubtful whether some of the author's assertions are relevant to other dialects of Tigre.

A. K. IRVINE.

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THE MUSLIM AND CHRISTIAN CALENDARS. By G. S. P. Freeman-Grenville. pp. vii + 87. Oxford University Press, London, 1963. 10s. 6d.

Big tables of comparative dates have been published in Germany: this is a small cheap book which makes more demands on the user's energy. There are four main tables; the list of comparative dates of the years with the Christian date of the Muslim New Year and the day of the week for the beginning of the Christian year; tables of the Muslim months and the number of days of the year which have elapsed, a similar one for the Christian months; 14 tables giving a perpetual Christian calendar according to which day is New Year's day in ordinary and leap years. A short introduction tells how to use the book with examples.

A. S. TRITTON.

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ARTICLES ON ANTIQUITY IN FESTSCHRIFTEN. An Index. Compiled by Dorothy Rounds. pp. xx + 560. Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass. 1962. £8.

It is impossible to review this book; we can only greet it with a cheer. The subject matter alone is alarming: The Ancient Near East, Old Testament, Greece, Rome, Roman Law and Byzantium. Scholars will be forever grateful to those who endured the back-breaking soul-searing work of compiling it.

A. S. TRITTON.

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CATALOGUE OF ORIENTAL MANUSCRIPTS (University of Leeds). By J. Macdonald. pt. 6. pp. 69. University of Leeds, 1962.

This, the sixth instalment of the catalogue contains 50 Arabic manuscripts, nos. 251-300. The plan is the same as in the earlier instalments and there are indices of persons, titles, and subjects. No item is of outstanding merit. There is a misprint on p. 2; Bien should be Rieu.

A. S. TRITTON.

DIE ARABISCHE RANGSTREITDICHTUNG UND IHRE EINORDNUNG IN DIE ALLGEMEINE LITERATURGESCHICHTE. By E. Wagner. (Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur zu Mainz: Geistes- und sozialwissenschaftliche Klasse.) pp. 42. 1963.

Flyting matches or something very like them are almost universal. They are found in Sumerian literature, passed to the Accadians and from them to Greece. Perhaps the story of Ahiqar was one channel. The Romans took the form from the Greeks and then it was employed in mediaeval Latin and the national literatures of modern Europe. The Arabic form of this *genre* may have arisen independently, though Persian, middle and modern, may have been an intermediary. The Arabic had no direct influence on Europe unless perhaps through Hebrew on Italy. This is a summary of a workmanlike book. There is an index.

A. S. TRITTON.

### South-East Asia

A HISTORY OF MALAYA. By R. O. Winstedt. pp. 288. Marican & Sons, Singapore. 1962. £1 1s.

It is now nearly thirty years since this classic study was published in the *Journal of the Malayan Branch Royal Asiatic Society*. It says much for the current state of scholarship on Malayan history that the author has found little to alter in this revised edition. The first and second chapters have been partly re-written, and certain changes occur in the third chapter where fresh information contained *inter alia* in Tomé Pires' *Suma Oriental* has been adduced in support of a new interpretation (originally advanced by the author in two short articles in *BSOAS* in 1948 and 1949) which identifies Parameswara, the traditional last king of Singapore with Iskandar Shah, the founder of Malacca, and even (tentatively on page 49) as the shadowy Sultan Megat, who, according to the Raffles' recension of the *Sĕjarah Mĕlayu*, ruled for two years after the death of Iskandar Shah.

Three new chapters on the Japanese Invasion, the Communist Emergency, and the Malayan Union and After bring the history up to date. The new edition, which is well printed on fine paper and attractively bound, contains a number of new illustrations and an index. In its new format this book, which has stood unrivalled as the best history of Malaya for more than a quarter of a century, is likely to retain its position of pre-eminence for many years to come.

JOHN BASTIN.

ASIAN TRADE AND EUROPEAN INFLUENCE IN THE INDONESIAN ARCHIPELAGO BETWEEN 1500 AND ABOUT 1630. By M. A. P. Meilink-Roelofs. pp. viii + 471. Martinus Nijhoff: The Hague, 1962.

This novel and informative book has been inspired by the studies of B. Schrieke and J. C. van Leur and endeavours to describe, as

far as sources allow Asian trade in South-East Asia before and after it was affected by the impact of European intruders. The initial chapter on trade before the 15th century is inevitably thin owing to the paucity of material. The four chapters devoted to Malacca's trade are the best documented, skilful use having been made of the "Malay Annals" and the Malacca maritime digest, although the chapters would still lack precise details of trade had the author not had before her the works of Tomé Pires and other Portuguese. (Incidentally it is a mistake to describe the "codification" of law in Asia as rare, the Malays and Indonesians having had Indian models to follow.) The author complains rightly of the lack of Asian sources, but she has not used the Achinese port regulations of Iskandar Mada (1607-1636) nor the Kedah port regulations of 1650, probably because they fall just outside her period. Three chapters deal with the Dutch United Company monopoly and many pages are devoted to the spice and pepper trade. The author has consulted unpublished Dutch records. There is a useful summary of the contents of this indispensable history. A full bibliography and a copious index are provided.

R. O. WINSTEDT.

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THE REVOLUTION IN SOUTH-EAST ASIA. By V. Purcell. pp. 198. Thames and Hudson, London, 1962. 21s.

The task of selection and compression required in trying to give a picture of the past and present problems of an area as wide-spread and diverse as South-East Asia in a book of 198 pages is formidable. Dr. Purcell has made a lively and laudable attempt. Most of the major themes are here, brought up more to whet than slake curiosity, since each is stuff for at least one bulky American Ph.D. thesis. Still, initial interest is aroused; so it is a pity that some kind of bibliography is not appended. However small and selective it might have been, it would have had value for the reader new to the region. The odd random references are no substitute.

The book is divided into three parts: part one attempts an "overall picture" — scampering in less than 50 pages through a history of many centuries, from *Pithecanthropus Erectus* to the last of imperial man; part two consists of potted "regional studies" of Burma, 'Greater Malaysia', Indonesia, Thailand, the Philippines, and the Vietnams with Laos and Cambodia; and part three bravely essays a "summing-up", both of the colonial balance sheet, and of the contemporary scene. The arrangement entails some repetition, and some dispersal of themes, but in this kind of book a compromise of some sort is always necessary between straight consecutive country-by-country chronological accounts and general accounts of common themes, illustrated by references to the various countries as appropriate.

On the whole Dr. Purcell has done a good job. He knows the region thoroughly at first hand, especially Malaya. This is reflected

in the balance of the text. To give six more pages in the regional studies to 'Greater Malaysia' than to Indonesia with ten times its population would seem disproportionate.

In his general conclusions and judgements I find very little with which to quarrel. This is a useful addition to the introductory texts, for which general lecture audiences so often ask.

J. A. M. CALDWELL.

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ANGLO-DUTCH RIVALRY IN THE MALAY WORLD 1780-1824. By Nicholas Tarling. pp. 189. Cambridge University Press. 1962. £1 16s.

Forty years of intermittent and largely abortive negotiations preceded the Anglo-Dutch Treaty of 1824. The Dutch were conscious that their empire and trade hegemony built up in the 17th century was slipping from their still tenacious grasp and above all they feared British penetration of the centres of the spice-trade in Indonesia. Britain wished to see a strong and independent Holland as a partial counter-weight to France in the European balance of power. Yet Britain also needed a chain of naval bases to protect her possessions in India and to safeguard her trade route to Canton. By 1820 moreover Britain, on the threshold of her 19th-century mercantile expansion, was no longer willing to concede to the Dutch a virtual trade monopoly in South-east Asia. The upset of the Napoleonic War proved a catalyst and the final outcome, inconceivable in 1780, was the carving out of two spheres of influence, control and trade penetration in the archipelago.

In this book one follows not so much the local rivalry of Raffles and his Dutch opponents as the intricate chess-game of metropolitan diplomacy in which they were pawns in the game. Singapore, it appears, was retained for the vital few years after 1819 because there was then a stalemate. By the time the negotiations reached their end its true value was apparent.

The narrative of diplomatic exchanges is extremely detailed, factual and well-documented. It is not easy reading — a book for the specialist on the period and the subject.

J. GULLICK.

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THE ETHNOHISTORY OF NORTHERN LUZON. By Felix M. Keesing. 362 pp., maps. Stanford University Press, Stanford, California; Oxford University Press, London. 1962. 60s.

The late Felix Keesing died shortly before the completion of his history of the peoples of northern Luzon, but the manuscript has been set in order and published by his son, Roger Keesing.

The period covered by the work is from 1572, when the first Spanish expedition reached the area, to the end of the eighteenth



century. The sources examined are for the greater part those translated in Blair and Robertson's *The Philippine Islands*, supplemented from Professor Beyer's collection of manuscripts in Manila. The method of exposition is to begin with the Pangasinan area and then to proceed in a clockwise fashion through a total of nine ethnographic provinces, closing each chapter with a summary and conclusions. The final chapter, which was to have synthesized the author's arguments, was unfortunately not fully written at the time of his death, and in its place Mr. Roger Keesing has brought together what had been the summaries to the preceding chapters, together with certain of the author's own tentative observations.

Material features such as modes of cultivation are inevitably more prominent than social organization, on which relatively little precise information is recorded from the period in question, but the work remains thorough and highly valuable. A comprehensive general picture of the events during such a period, and over so large and difficult a terrain, is hardly to be expected, but the author has presented a clear and convincing account of what really happened, as nearly as it may be known, in each of the areas he distinguishes. He concludes with a brief statement of certain "patterns of response" to Spanish penetration, viz. initial resistance and retreat, subsequent expectations of benefits to be gained, then violent revisionary tendencies and more organized revolts, flights to the hinterland where self-conscious conservatism could flourish, and the development of no-man's-lands between the pacified and unpacified through which essential commerce could nevertheless move.

The book is more than a worthy complement to Phelan's *The Hispanization of the Philippines*, and it is only regrettable that a labour of such value should be marred by the unnecessary and rather pretentious label of "ethno-history", which here does not have even the misdirected meaning usually given it. Professor Keesing's investigation is plain history, and very conscientiously done at that, and there is no evident reason why it should not have been called so. We are much in his debt for having undertaken a task with such unspectacular rewards, and may be grateful to his son for so modestly and effectively diverting himself from his own anthropological studies in order to bring the work to fruition.

RODNEY NEEDHAM.

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ETNOGRAFIE VAN DE KAOWERAWÉDI (CENTRAAL NIEUW-GUINEA).

By J. P. K. van Eechoud. (Verhandelingen van het Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde, Deel 37.) pp. 200, figures in text, photographs. Martinus Nijhoff, The Hague. 1962.

This book consists of extracts, edited by Dr. J. V. de Bruijn and Dr. A. C. van der Leeden, from a government report on an expedition to central New Guinea carried out in 1939-40 by a police officer in the Netherlands colonial service.

The Kaowerawédj tribe, the subject of the study, then numbered about 180 persons, living on cultivated sago, and had only recently been subjected to close influence by government and missions. The author, since dead, worked among them with a copy of *Notes and Queries on Anthropology* in hand, and recorded a large amount of useful if unorganized material on social organization, the individual, political structure, religion and magic, material objects, art and entertainment. There are appendices on myths and on techniques of decoration, together with a word-list and grammatical notes. The myths, dealing largely with incestuous origins, and descent from an ingenious variety of other odd kinds of sexual activity, are of special interest as forms of symbolic inversion. Of general interest also are the accounts of head-hunting, cannibalism, and the cult of the sacred flutes.

The present monograph is a tribute to the ethnographic capacity of the late Commissioner van Eechoud, and is a valuable contribution to the study of New Guinea.

RODNEY NEEDHAM.

## India, Pakistan and Ceylon

MEGASTHENES AND INDIAN RELIGION. By Allan Dahlquist. pp. 320. Almqvist & Wiksell: Stockholm, Göteborg-Uppsala. 1962. Kr. 40.

In this detailed and scholarly study the author has analyzed the obscure passages attributed to Megasthenes, which deal with some aspects of Indian religion. He is convinced that Megasthenes was a shrewd observer whose information can be relied upon if we know how to interpret it. His conclusion is that Megasthenes' references to Heracles are based upon Indra worship, whereas those to Dionysos concern the main god of the Muṇḍa-speaking tribes of Chota Nagpur.

The author's method is basically statistical: after enumerating the features attributed to 'Heracles' he calculates how many of these agree or may agree with those ascribed to Kṛṣṇa, Viṣṇu, Śiva and Indra in Indian texts. On balance he finds that more features agree with Indra than with any other Indian god. He therefore concludes that Indra was still the most popular god in the Indian plains by the end of the fourth century B.C. Vaiṣṇavism, as a religion, arose many centuries later and may well have been influenced by early Christianity.

Here the author comes into conflict with the evidence of the Besnagar Pillar, which has always been regarded as the earliest datable reference to Vaiṣṇavism. He goes into great pains to establish that the inscription furnishes no real proof for the existence of Vaiṣṇavism in the second century B.C. The term *bhāgavata*, he points out, is derived from *bhagavat*, the use of which is not limited to Viṣṇu. Also *Vāsudeva* is inconclusive as the word resembles

*Vāsava*, a name of Indra. These are weak arguments. Whatever the etymologies of *bhāgavata* and *Vāsudeva*, the author has failed to give us examples to show that these terms could be used in any other but Vaiṣṇava context. He also overlooks the fact that the pillar itself is designated as a *garuḍa-dhvaja* in the inscription, while Garuḍa is closely connected with Vaiṣṇavism. The mention of the three *amṛta-padāni* is further evidence for the Bhāgavata character of the inscription. The Ghosunḍī inscription of Sarvatāta and the *Mahābhāṣya* strongly confirm the conclusion based upon the Garuḍa Pillar. Vaiṣṇavism in its Bhāgavata form was firmly established in India in the time of the Śuṅgas, so much so that a Greek could become one of its adherents. As two centuries is a short period in the development of religious beliefs it is by no means unlikely that Vaiṣṇavism, including Kṛṣṇa worship, should have been widely practised in the time of Megasthenes. The association of 'Heracles' with Mathurā and the Yamunā is a strong indication that Megasthenes had heard something about Kṛṣṇa worship.

The arguments concerning Dionysos are no more convincing. Where would Megasthenes have obtained information about tribal gods of the Muṇḍas? The ancient Indians were not, as far as we know, interested in the religions of the primitive tribes. Our information concerning the Muṇḍas is of recent date and there is no basis for the assumption that the Muṇḍa myths go back to the time of Megasthenes.

In view of these objections I am afraid that Dr. Dahlquist has not succeeded in convincing us of the correctness of his identifications. In fact, Megasthenes' information on Indian religion, as far as appears from the incomplete and partly contradictory quotations, is so confused that it cannot be profitably used. It is of the same kind as his account of the seven classes, the absence of famines and slaves, and the activities of gold-digging ants. It is, of course, an interesting puzzle to try to find out where and how Megasthenes may have obtained his information about Indian gods. Dr. Dahlquist's almost exhaustive study raises many interesting points. He has shown conclusively the weakness of the current interpretations, but his attempt at vindicating Megasthenes as a reliable authority on ancient India is unconvincing.

J. G. DE CASPARIS.

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THE BHAGAVAD GITA. A sublime hymn of dialectics composed by the antique sage-bard Vyāsa, with general and introductory essays, verse [-by-verse] commentary, word notes, Sanskrit text and English translation. By Nataraja Guru. xv + 763 pp. Asia Publishing House, London, 1962. £4.

Bearing in mind the admonition of Aurobindo that each commentary finds in the *Gītā* its own metaphysical system and religious thought, the reader will find Mataraja Guru's study of interest

principally in the context of contemporary Indian thought, faithful to the Vedantic tradition of the Classical period, but re-examining and reliving it in the light of a comparison with Western traditional philosophical concepts. The author seeks to out-Śāṅkara Śāṅkara in interpreting the *Gītā* as a work of pure metaphysics, advaita in its conception, but Cartesian in its rationalism (the *guru-śiṣya* dialogue acting, rather like the Cartesian monologue, as the vehicle for absolute logic). Style and construction are discussed (pp. 50–63) and a complete word index to the Sanskrit text is supplied. The work is marred by a translation too close to the Sanskrit for elegance and occasionally for comprehensibility, and by the absence of any attempt at textual criticism (no reference being made to the readings, far less the apparatus of the *BORI* critical edition). It is to be hoped that author, printer and publisher will recant from their conviction that a transliteration *gachchhati sishyah* is more beautiful or in any way superior to the standard *gacchati śiṣyaḥ*.

J. C. WRIGHT.

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THE GĀNDHĀRĪ DHARMAPADA. Ed. with an introduction and commentary by John Brough. (London Oriental Series, vol. 7.) pp. xxv + 319; 24 plates. Oxford University Press, 1962. £5 5s.

In 1962 the Prakrit text of the *Dharmapada* (this is the title now found in the manuscript itself) which had been partially known and often cited from 1897 onwards at last reached the status of a book in the admirable edition here noticed. Professor Brough had excellent photographs of all the Paris materials (partly published in facsimile by E. Senart in the *Journal asiatique*, 1897) and of the long-awaited portions in Leningrad, a photograph of which is also in Berlin. About two-thirds of this important Buddhist manuscript, the only literary book in the North-western Prakrit in Kharoṣṭhī script, have survived. The edition presents 24 facsimile plates, and transliteration with Pali, Sanskrit or Tibetan parallel texts. Part I contains a long Introduction on the discovery and state of the manuscript, and its relation to other *Dharmapada* sources. Part II offers a full palaeographical study, with a grammar of this particular Prakrit. Here for the first time we have a detailed examination of the language of this *Dharmapada* text, which makes it accessible to scholars concerned with other Prakrit work. In the Commentary which follows the Text many intricate problems of content and language are discussed. The early piece of textual criticism, pp. 45–8, set back in the lifetime of Ananda, where a Prakrit \**udakavaka* has replaced *udaya-vyaya* and revealed itself in the Tibetan version as *bya kar* 'white bird' in the water, and in Chinese as a heron, is a feat of which one would gladly have had more: the changes suffered by Buddhist texts are particularly severe.

With this critical study in hand we have now a firmer basis for the understanding of the North-western Prakrit of Gandhāra (the

Peshawar region) and the documents from Kroraina with the inscriptions in Kharoṣṭhī script from North-west India. It is important also for the historical study of the modern Darada languages which derive from this Prakrit. Future work in this field will benefit greatly from this book; it is a most welcome addition to Indo-Aryan studies.

H. W. BAILEY.

THE VĀLMĪKI-RĀMĀYAṆA. Critical Edition. General Editor, G. H. Bhatt. Volume II, *Ayodhyākāṇḍa*. Edited by Dr. P. L. Vaidya. pp. iv, 706, lxvi. Oriental Institute, Baroda, 1961-62.

The first volume of the critical edition of the *Rāmāyaṇa* has been reviewed in *JRAS.*, 1959, pp. 77-79 and 1962, pp. 149-151. The appearance of the second volume, comprising the *Ayodhyākāṇḍa*, after so short an interval, is most welcome, and suggests that the time may not be too long ahead when the whole work will be available. The rapid progress has been achieved by assigning the different sections of the work to different scholars. The first Kāṇḍa was undertaken by the general editor, Dr. G. H. Bhatt; the present volume has been edited by Dr. P. L. Vaidya.

The general principles according to which the Critical Edition is being produced have been briefly discussed in the review of the first Kāṇḍa. To recapitulate briefly, there are two main recensions, the Southern and the Northern, and of these, for various linguistic, stylistic and other reasons, the Southern recension is clearly the more original, while the Northern recension has been to a large extent deliberately 'improved', and in part rewritten to comply with the taste of a later age. Consequently the Southern recension has to be made the basis of a critical edition, and this the editors have done, and claim thereby, in the words of Dr. Vaidya, to have given us 'a true representative of the Ādikāvya'.

This in principle is true and the fact emerges quite clearly when the two versions are read side by side, but some reservations are necessary. The Southern recension as it has come down to us, though undoubtedly more original than the Northern recension, has suffered from considerable corruption. Furthermore the various manuscripts representing the Southern recension do not differ very greatly, so that the archetype of all of them does not seem to be very ancient, even though the recension which it represents is the most original. So the collation of all the MSS. of the Southern recension is rarely sufficient to remove a corruption, since generally they will be found to share the same reading.

It follows that the Critical edition which in principle follows the Southern recension has also retained a considerable number of its corruptions. Often the Northern recension provides a more satisfactory reading (i.e. from the point of view of grammar and sense), but in view of its tendency to rewrite one has to be careful in assuming that it represents the original reading. In view of this the Critical



Edition tends to follow the Southern recension throughout, except that those passages not supported by corresponding passages in the Northern recension are systematically removed from the accepted text and relegated to the critical notes or appendix.

Perhaps greater use might have been made of the Northern variants in correcting the Southern text and in removing some at any rate of its corruptions. As a general rule, the Critical Edition has not attempted this but it has made possible further studies in this direction by its exhaustive collection of the manuscript material. As a result of this comprehensive recording of the MSS. variants the critical apparatus is even more extensive than that of the critical edition of the *Mahābhārata*. It is also most clearly and accurately recorded, and, like the text itself, almost free of misprints. It forms a solid foundation for further investigations, and it is to be hoped that it will inaugurate a new renaissance of *Rāmāyaṇa* studies.

T. BURROW.

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GRAMMATICAL METHOD IN PĀṆINI. HIS TREATMENT OF SANSKRIT PRESENT STEMS. By Betty Shefts. (American Oriental Series: Essay 1.) Newhaven, 1961. \$2.50.

This short treatise is devoted to the interpretation and analysis of Pāṇini's treatment of the present stem formations in 3.1.68. The text and translation of the sūtras is followed by a chapter on Definitions in which all the technical terms used in the section are explained in detail and very clearly. This is followed by the text and annotated translation of the corresponding section of the *Mahābhāṣya*. The work is most competently executed and is particularly fitted to serve as an introduction to the study of Pāṇini and his method. In the introductory chapter the question of the order in which Pāṇini has arranged the present classes is discussed. This has usually been considered illogical, but a plausible and rational account is provided here.

T. BURROW.

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ÉTUDES VÉDIQUES ET PĀNINÉENNES. Par Louis Renou. toms. IX-X. pp. 133, 122. Paris: Boccard, 1961-62. (Publications de l'Institut de Civilisation Indienne: Fasc. 16-17.) NF. 29 the two.

Previous parts of this valuable series have been reviewed in *JRAS* 1958, pp. 92-3 and *Ib.* 1962, pp. 98-99. Like the preceding four volumes the present two are devoted to the Veda. Vol. IX contains a translation and commentary of the hymns to Soma which are found outside the ninth book, while in volume X the hymns to the Maruts are similarly treated. Students of the Veda will find these volumes, like their predecessors, indispensable, and it is to be hoped that further volumes in the same style will appear in due course. In these volumes Professor Renou has contributed a great deal to Vedic interpretation, and further volumes of the same kind will be very welcome.

T. BURROW.

A COMPARATIVE DICTIONARY OF THE INDO-ARYAN LANGUAGES.  
By R. L. Turner. Fasc. I:A – Uttapti. pp. viii + 80. Oxford  
University Press. 1962. 30s.

The publication of the first fascicule of this dictionary is a major event in the progress of Indo-Aryan studies. The material has been collected over a period of forty years, and covers the whole field of the modern Indo-Aryan languages so far as they are available in published works. Much of this material has fortunately been available since the publication of Sir Ralph's Nepali Dictionary in 1931, but that was necessarily incomplete, since only items represented in the Nepali language were registered. The present publication is the first fascicule (out of an estimated ten) of the long awaited Comparative Dictionary which will make available the entire etymological material which has been collected. Besides the main literary languages many unwritten languages and dialects are represented, the most important and interesting being the Dardic languages of the North-West.

The items are arranged under the original Sanskritic forms or under reconstructed forms adapted to the Sanskrit phonetic structure. The head-words not actually represented in Sanskrit are marked with an asterisk, and, as the reader will observe, they are remarkably numerous. Many, of course, are combinations of Sanskritic elements not to be found in the Sanskrit literary language, e.g. *atiyañcati* 'pulls across', *ākṣalati* 'flows', etc. etc., but in many instances, the basic forms are quite foreign to Sanskrit, or even Prakrit, and their origin remains problematical. Such words in the present fascicule are *akka*- 'vexed, bewildered', *acca*- 'sudden shock', *allaḍa*- 'childish', *ākkaḍa*- 'cramped, stiff', *āḍḍerikā* 'a particular plant', and so forth. An interesting section of the items is represented by those which occur only lexically in Sanskrit (e.g. *itkṛṣṭa*- 'a kind of reed or grass'), and mention should also be made of the smaller number of words which appear in the Vedic literature, and then, after disappearing from the later Sanskrit literary tradition, turn up again in the modern languages (e.g. no. 1559 *inḍva*-).

This fascicule contains 1,763 items from which it is possible to calculate that the complete work will contain not less than 15,000 items, an impressively large number. The completed dictionary will be supplied with indices of all the languages dealt with, and when available it will form an indispensable work of reference for many years to come. Some items in the present fascicule suggest points briefly discussed below.

62 Compare the words recorded in DED. 22, which would appear to be connected, but contain some unexpected variants.

114 A. *āṅgā-muri* quoted here contains as its last element a word which may be of Dravidian origin, cf. DED. 4080.

186 With these words compare Skt *aṣṭaka*- 'lac' in the Arthaśāstra. (ii, 14, 27 and 39).

241 Mar. *asāḍi*, etc. 'maggot' is given both here and under 1489. The latter seems to be the proper place. Note that the word

*āsātika-* is also Vedic as well as BHS (cf. TA. i. 8.7 and Mantr. Br. 2.7.6). The cerebralization in Middle and Modern IA. is of the spontaneous variety.

394 The tribal name of the Andhs in Berar belongs here, and they have a good claim to be the modern representatives of the original Andhras.

969 Beside Pkt. *asiya-* 'sickle' note also Skt. *asida-* (ĀpŚrS. 1.3.1), and Pali *asita-* 'id'.

1039 It is not clear why Hi. *helnā* should not be more simply connected with Skt. *hel-* 'to sport' rather than with *ākhel-*.

1202 Corresponding words meaning 'potter's kiln' are given in DED. 336. In view of the material collected here they should probably now be regarded as loan-words from IA.

1365 For corresponding words in Dravidian meaning 'mush-room' see DED. 305.

1602 Hi. *īī*, *īīhī* 'lance, spear' can be better derived from Skt. *ṛṣṭi-* 'id' (>Pa. *īṭhi-*). Cf. also the loan-words in Dravidian Ta. *īṭṭi*, etc., DBI. no. 41.

1693 This item is of Dravidian origin, cf. Ta. *uruntu*, etc. DED. 594.

T. BURROW.

HISTORY OF THE AFGHANS IN INDIA, A.D. 1545-1631, with especial reference to their relations with the Mughals. By Muhammad abdur Rahim. pp. x + 326. Pakistan Publishing House, Karachi. 1961. Rs. 20.

The very glamour of the Mughal empire in India has tended to divert the attention of historians away from the actual process of its establishment. Babur, Humayun, Sher Shah and Akbar — their personalities have dominated the study of the earlier sixteenth century almost to the exclusion of the study of the situation in which and upon which they acted. Clearly the replacement of one dominant political élite, the Afghan, by another, the Mughal, which (like the Ghorid élite) enjoyed no overweening rock-like authority in Central Asia, was a tremendous political achievement, but one which was, as the career of Sher Shah shows, by no means certain of success. To discover how, in detail, the Afghans were replaced by the Mughals as rulers in India is no easy task. The evidence available is late, partisan, panegyric and anecdotal.

Dr. Rahim has made a very stout and valuable effort to accomplish this task. He has put forward the hypothesis that the Afghans in the Lodi period in effect 'zoned' their settlements in India tribally. He has shown Babur's and Humayun's efforts to win Afghan support (an interesting problem of the nature of political loyalties here), he has discussed Akbar's suspicion of the Afghans not in generalized terms but by detailed reference to their position in the *mansabdari*

system, and he has shown with the similar kind of detail how Jahangir made an effort fully to integrate the Afghans in the Mughal system and how the rebellion of Khan Jahan Lodi in the next reign set back this Mughal effort.

Dr. Rahim has not altogether allayed the reviewer's scepticism on some points. Is he right to reconstruct a policy of centralized administration (the concept is not clearly defined) under Islam Shah from a few scattered eulogistic or condemnatory references in later sources which may, in any event, be an oblique comment upon Mughal policies? Is Dr. Rahim right to suggest, however tentatively, that Khan Jahan Lodi's rebellion in 1629-30 was the final step in an attempt to restore Afghan rule in India, rather than an effort to win a better position for himself within the Mughal system? Dr. Rahim's discussion of Sulayman Karrani's relations with Akbar (pp. 178-181) underlines the need to grasp the truth of A. J. P. Taylor's aphorism that a negative in history cannot be proved.

The book is written in clear and pleasing English; students of Afghan supremacy in medieval India should read it.

P. HARDY.

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AKBAR: THE RELIGIOUS ASPECT. By R. Krishnamurti. pp. 184. Baroda, Maharaja Sayajiroa University of Baroda Press, 1961. Rs. 5.50.

Recent Indian and Pakistani historical writing has not dealt with Akbar's religious activities on their merits. Indian historians have tended to reduce Akbar to a nationalist politician whose religious ideas are incidental to his imperial purpose, while Pakistani historians have tended to regard him as an essentially uneducated traitor to Islam whose trifling with religion weakened Muslim rule in India by shaking the Muslim conviction that the Mughal empire was both a Muslim and a Muslims' empire.

The first interpretation is scarcely consistent with the fact that Akbar's religious activities post-date his conciliatory political moves *vis-à-vis* non-Muslims, while the second begs the question whether pre-Mughal Muslim regimes owed such stability and strength as they possessed to the support of the Muslim community as such for an orthodox policy and that Muslims as such enjoyed a superior claim to political and administrative positions under governments headed by Muslim sultans.

Mr. Krishnamurti's little book at least has the virtue of taking Akbar seriously as a religious seeker. It certainly clinches the view that the *Din-i-Ilāhī* attracted 'a band of discipleship of those who were of kindred spirit to Akbar' rather than provided a new religion for the whole empire. The concluding summary of Akbar's religious philosophy could, on the material used by Mr. Krishnamurti, hardly be bettered. It is doubtful whether further advances in the study of Akbar's religious quest can now be made without going

beyond the familiar evidence provided by Badā'ūnī, the *Dabistān* and the Jesuits. What is needed is fuller investigation of the general religious background of the age — of the influence in India of the ideas of Nāṣir ud-dīn Tūsī for example, of the scope allowed in contemporary *fiqh* for *ijtihād* by Muslim rulers and of the rôle of Maḥdawī thought in India — important relevant Maḥdawī texts have been published in recent years from Hyderabad, Deccan.

P. HARDY.

AKBAR THE GREAT. VOL. I. POLITICAL HISTORY. A.D. 1542-1605.

By Ashirbadi Lal Srivastava. pp. xxvi, 581. Agra, Shiva Lal Agarwala & Company, 1962. Rs. 20.

Professor Srivastava's new account of Akbar is very much along lines traditional for the treatment of medieval South Asian history. That is, it begins with Akbar's birth and ends with his death and a review of his personality and achievements. In between, the reader is offered a full narration of political events in the best idiom of the 'one damn thing after another' school. It is so well done that one is almost persuaded that this is the last book that need be written on Akbar for a very long time. But yet, when Professor Srivastava informs his readers that two more volumes on Akbar are to follow, one dealing with 'the evolution of administration in all its branches' and the other with 'the society and culture of the 16th-century India' doubts begin to creep in.

For, are we to believe that Akbar's religious activities, recounted chronologically in this first political volume, are intelligible in isolation from the religious currents of the age both in the sub-continent and in Iran? Are we to conclude that geography and strategy are irrelevant to an understanding of Akbar's relations with the Rajputs or that his Rajput marriage alliances are intelligible without some consideration of the rôle of women in Rajput society and politics? Are we to gather that Akbar's administrative measures, mentioned in this volume, were not devised without some unspoken assumptions about the social geography of the peoples affected by them? Are Akbar's actions *vis-à-vis* the Deccan states intelligible without some accompanying consideration of contemporary ideas of paramountcy, overlordship and political prestige? Is the character of the Mughal empire, the nature and the timing of its military operations fully intelligible without a discussion of its economic base, of the system of production upon which it rested?

All these questions amount to saying in effect that Professor Srivastava has been untouched by the marxian (with a small 'm') revolution in historical studies. Therefore, however valuable and informative his succeeding volumes will be in providing data on the administration and cultural life of Akbar's day, the whole will not attain to organic, synthetic, analytical history. In this however, his work is not alone, as a glance at the 'Munshi' histories, published



by *Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan*, or at the volumes in the *History of the Freedom Movement* (Pakistan) will show. Perhaps the preoccupation with Hindu-Muslim political relations and the problem of seeing the social realities behind the formal categories of thought of both the Muslim and non-Muslim literary evidence make a 'Copernican revolution' in medieval South Asian historical studies difficult at present. Meanwhile, Professor Srivastava has produced the best conventional political history of Akbar so far.

P. HARDY.

THE ECONOMIC HISTORY OF BENGAL FROM PLASSEY TO THE PERMANENT SETTLEMENT. By Narendra Krishna Sinha. Vol. II. pp. vi + 300. Firma K. L. Mukhopadhyay, Calcutta, 1962. 31s. 6d.

This important book by the Asutosh Professor of Medieval and Modern History in the University of Calcutta is a detailed study of British revenue policy in Bengal from 1757 to 1793, when the most important problem of internal administration, apart from the preservation of law and order, was the settlement of the land revenue. The revenue policy of Warren Hastings between 1772 and 1785 was a series of tentative experiments in accordance with what he called the "Rule of False". His main object was to discover the actual productivity of the soil. In this he was severely handicapped by the inexperience of the Company's servants, the shortcomings of Clive's dual system, the effects of the famine of 1770, and the conspiracy of silence between the *qanungos* and the *zamindars*. The whole problem has already been well discussed by R. B. Ramsbotham in his *Studies in the Land Revenue History of Bengal 1769-1787* (Oxford, 1926). Students in this country are well acquainted with the struggle between Warren Hastings and Philip Francis, especially Francis's advocacy of a permanent settlement of the land revenues. It is difficult to accept the present author's categorical pronouncement that Francis's views had no influence on those responsible for the 1793 settlement. Equally well known is the Cornwallis-Shore controversy in which Shore's plea for delay was based on sound reasoning to which Cornwallis made no adequate reply. There is ample evidence from 1769 onwards that it was the intention of British revenue policy to protect the ryots from oppression but Cornwallis was mistaken when he supposed that this could be accomplished merely by issuing orders prohibiting the levying of *abwabs* (extra cesses) by the *zamindars* and by ordering them to grant *pattas* to the peasants.

The volume stops abruptly in 1793 but it is difficult to explain the permanent settlement without considering its results down to the Floud Report of 1940. Professor Sinha denounces in no uncertain terms the system of quinquennial leases. His exposure of the corruption of both British and Indian officials makes disquieting reading. He is inclined to underestimate the difficulties with which Hastings had to contend.

C. COLLIN DAVIES.

THE RYOTWARI SYSTEM IN MADRAS. By Nilmani Mukherjee. pp. xviii + 397. K. L. Mukhopadhyay, Calcutta, 1962. 36s.

Land revenue settlements during the British period of Indian history were zamindari, mahalwari, or ryotwari. Because of the importance of Bengal as the supreme government historians have tended to concentrate on the permanent settlement of Bengal in the time of Cornwallis. It is only recently that attention is being turned to the land revenue problems of the British in the old United Provinces. Although much has been written on Sir Thomas Munro, Dr. Mukherjee's scholarly book is the first real attempt to make a detailed study of the ryotwari system in Madras. The book gives an account of the original ryotwari settlement of Captain Alexander Read in the Baramahal district surrendered by Tipu Sultan after his defeat in 1792 and of its extension to Coimbatore, the Carnatic, and the Ceded districts. Attention is drawn to the attempt of the Bengal government to force a permanent zamindari settlement on the Madras authorities and to other land revenue experiments until orders were received from the home authorities in London to reintroduce the ryotwari system. For this decision Sir Thomas Munro was largely responsible. At first the rate of assessment was too high; improvements effected by the ryots were taxed; valuable crops were charged much higher rates; resident cultivators in a village were jointly bound for any deficit; remission was expressly excluded; relinquishment of land was hedged round with restrictions; and there was no proper survey. It is therefore unfortunate that Mr. Mukherjee's study of the problem ends with the death of Sir Thomas Munro in 1827. It is to be hoped that he will favour us with a second volume down to at least the year 1855.

C. COLLIN DAVIES.

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HISTORIANS OF INDIA, PAKISTAN AND CEYLON. (Historical writing on the peoples of Asia Series.) Ed. by C. H. Philips. pp. 504. Oxford University Press, 1961. 50s.

During the period of Western Dominance of Asia a noticeable difference existed between the Western and Eastern historians in their interpretations of Asian history. The independence of Asian countries has brought a change in the attitude and purpose both of Eastern and Western historians and they are keenly aware of the need to find a common ground of approach to history. This book, which is an outcome of a conference at the School of Oriental and African Studies, aims at fulfilling that need.

It is an ably edited collection of contributions by leading authorities from Asia and the West on the historians of India, Pakistan and Ceylon. Part one deals with ideas of history in the early empires and literatures and part two with the historical writing in the periods of European dominance and Nationalist movements. It is the first book to trace critically the historical writing on the countries of

South Asia in European and Asian languages and to underline the attitudes, predilections and prejudices of past historians. As a pioneer work it was bound to be selective, the choice of subjects sometimes depending on the availability of contributions. This may partly explain why well-known historians like Jadunath Sarkar and Kaye have not been separately treated and why a comparatively little known historian, J. H. Nelson, has been lucky enough to get twenty pages of the book to himself. Even with these minor limitations this book, in my opinion, is indispensable for the keen scholar of South Asian history.

B. N. PANDEY.

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TILAK AND GOKHALE: REVOLUTION AND REFORM IN THE MAKING OF MODERN INDIA. By Stanley A. Wolpert. xv + 370 pp. University of California: Cambridge University Press, 1962. 60s.

This is a well written comparative study of Tilak and Gokhale which will be welcomed by students of Indian history. The author has consulted and made good use of a wide range of sources and succeeded in producing a critical analysis of the careers and ideas of the two nationalists.

The comparative analysis of Gokhale — the 'moderate' statesman, and Tilak — the 'extremist' popular leader is on the whole well balanced although Tilak's charismatic personality receives more attention. The attempt to link Tilak with the assassination of Rand by Damodar Chapekar is not fully convincing nor indeed is the account of Tilak's plan to persuade the King of Nepal to invade India and spark a general uprising.

Tilak and Gokhale certainly played leading rôles in the Indian national movement, but in titling the book "Revolution and Reform in the Making of Modern India", the author might lead the unsuspecting reader to conclude that the two Maharashtran leaders were the only ones, or that Maharashtra alone exemplified the history of the national movement in India. Despite many previous interpretations of the life and political thoughts of Tilak and Gokhale this book brings fresh insight to the subject.

D. ARGOV.

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RABINDRANATH TAGORE. By Humayun Kabir. pp. 72. School of Oriental and African Studies; University of London. 1962. 15s.

This excellent little book on Rabindranath Tagore contains five articles, two of them delivered at the School of Oriental and African Studies. The first article deals with the historical background (pp. 7-10) of Tagore and his family, the second and third with his greatness as an artist (pp. 11-28) and as a humanist (pp. 29-43) and the remaining two articles are on the importance and significance of

Tagore's message for modern India (pp. 45-65) and the World (pp. 67-72). The articles are well written and give a complete picture of Tagore's life and activities. Prof. Kabir has very ably delineated the growth of Tagore's many-sided genius in a very small compass. His analysis of Tagore's paintings and music, though very short, is remarkable and gives a comprehensive view of Tagore's work. Tagore's thoughts on social institutions, education and political problems are also very important for the understanding of his work. Prof. Kabir has rightly discussed them at length. Tagore's activities, other than artistic, are, however, his minor achievements; one could have wished that the chapter *As Artist* had been longer. There is no adequate discussion of Tagore's plays for instance.

There are a few minor mistakes in transliteration of Bengali names e.g. *Mukhtadhara* (p. 35) which I hope will be corrected in future editions. The name of a play called *prakṛitir pratiśodh* has been printed quite wrongly as "Prakitier Parishodh".

SISIR KUMAR DAS.

THE INDIAN FAMILY IN TRANSITION: A CASE STUDY OF KERALA CHRISTIANS. By George Kurian. pp. 142, map. Mouton & Co., The Hague. 1961. 30s.

A characteristic of Indian sociology has been its pre-occupation with the caste-based Hindu society. Moreover, field studies have lagged behind those based upon literary sources. So a monograph based upon investigations among a section of Indian Christians should be welcome. But this book is disappointing. The author's data are inadequate to form a book, or to form a basis for significant generalization.

Dr. Kurian's claim, that his findings among the Christians of Kerala are 'indicative of the changing pattern of family life in the whole of India' (p. 21), is difficult to accept, particularly because he tells us that these Christians are a 'very small and not necessarily a representative group' (p. 43).

The author relies mainly on the questionnaire technique for his study of change in Syrian Christian family life. The scope of the questionnaire was quite limited (see Appendix on pp. 132-37). Even more limited was its distribution: 200 copies were sent to rural Christians in Kerala and another 200 to Kerala-born Christian emigrants resident in Bombay. For the intended purpose, the choice of an emigrant group seems to me to be indefensible; a comparison between rural and urban Christians *resident in Kerala* was the only legitimate course.

The utility of this book is doubtful for another reason also: the response to the questionnaire was 32% from the rural group and 30% from the urban. The author regards this as satisfactory. One wonders what 3,500,000 Kerala Christians would have to say on this matter.



In view of the unwarranted assumptions and the inadequate techniques of the author, it is not surprising that many of his conclusions are trivial ['... the urban is more progressive than the rural group' (p. 127)] or tautologous ['Evidence in this study has amply exposed the waning of tradition as the channel of transmission of culture in a dynamic society' (p. 131)]. Whatever merit the author's work has is unfortunately lost in the midst of irrelevant comparison and insignificant generalization. T. N. MADAN.

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THE LYRIC IN INDIAN POETRY. By Abokeranjan Dasgupta. pp. 152. Firma K. L. Mukhopadhyay, Calcutta. 1962. Rs. 10.00.

This book is divided into eight small chapters and includes an apologia (pp. 1-5) and a bibliography (pp. 137-148). The main theme is the growth and descriptions of lyrical forms in Bengali poetry. The period studied roughly extends from *caryāpada* to the *gītikā* of Mymensing. First, two chapters (pp. 16-48) outline a background of Bengali poetry before the emergence of the *caryā* songs which are dealt with in the next chapter (pp. 48-67). Chapter IV is devoted to the *padāvalī* of the Vaiṣṇavas, the artificial poetic language *Brajabuli* and *Kīrtan* (pp. 68-106). *Śrīkṛṣṇa kīrtan*, a long narrative sequence on the Rādhākṛṣṇa theme, is discussed in chapter VII (pp. 123-130). And a few remarks are made on the *gītikās* of Mymensing and śākta songs in the concluding chapter (pp. 131-136). Two intervening chapters deal with the relation between music and rhyme (pp. 107-116) and dance-rhythm and rhyme (pp. 117-122) respectively. The author has tried to analyze the intimate relation between music and poetry in Bengali literature throughout his study.

The theme is very interesting and important and this book is a pioneering attempt in this field. It is evidence of the author's sincere work, literary insight and it is a remarkable departure from the stereotyped criticism of medieval Bengali poetry. It claims to be "a comparative study in the evolution of Bengali lyric forms". But nothing is stated precisely about the method of this "comparative study". The treatment of the subject in this respect is hardly satisfactory. One wonders whether the author has done real justice to his subject in such a short space. The analysis is sketchy, abrupt and sometimes not very clear. The author always concludes his analysis where elaboration and more discussion are badly needed. His frequent excursions into side issues could have been most fascinating but unfortunately they are distracting where the range of subject is wide and space is limited. For example, the author analyzes the growth of end-rhymes and counteracts Keith's theory. The analysis is too brief and examples are too scanty to give one a fair opportunity to reciprocate the author's feeling about it, which seems a little hasty. Sometimes the author has taken excessive freedom in translating extracts from Bengali (for example, in p. 4, there is no *monotony* in the original) and sometimes he has not



translated any extracts at all (for example, p. 85, 108, 109). There should be more care about the transliteration and the date of Ramnidhi Gupta needs checking. The book, however, is thought-provoking and valuable to students of Bengali literature in particular.

SISIR KUMAR DAS.

## Buddhism

BUDDHISM IN CHINESE HISTORY. By Arthur F. Wright. pp. 144. Oxford University Press, London. 1959. 25s.

This survey of Buddhism in China in six chapters, from its entry into China through the periods of its 'domestication' and 'independent growth' to the syncretic amalgam, which is the 'Buddhist' religion of the populace today, is a masterly digest of much relevant material from scholarly works past and present, as well as useful observations of eye-witnesses. The presentation of such a large subject within this space necessitates an extreme economy in the choice of data to be included, reference to works, illustrations, etc. The author has succeeded admirably in this task. Apart from the useful Index at the end of the book, there is a most stimulating 'Selection of Further Readings' which will serve as an excellent guide to readers whose interest has been aroused by Professor Wright's study.

K. P. K. WHITAKER.

RGYAN-DRUG MCHOG-GNYIS. 53 pp., 5 plates. Namgyal Institute of Tibetology, Gangtok, Sikkim. 1962. 50s.

During his visit to the Namgyal Institute of Tibetology in 1958 Mr. Nehru showed particular interest in a set of five *thangkas* which date back to the 17th century and are here reproduced in colour. They depict (1) the Buddha, and then the "six ornaments", i.e. (2) Nāgārjuna and Āryadeva, the initiators of the Mādhyamika doctrine, (3) Asanga and Vasubandhu, founders of the Yogācāra school, (4) Dignāga and Dharmakīrti, two prominent logicians, and finally (5) "the two excellents" (p. 43, but see p. 32) Guṇaprabha and Śākyaprabha, masters of the Vinaya, living in the 7th and 8th centuries. The text attempts to explain all the details visible in the *thangkas* and also to provide some background information to their understanding. It has been the aim of its authors "to avoid technicalities and to steer the middle path in matters of controversy" (p. 5). The pictures are charming, especially the one which shows Nāgārjuna and Āryadeva on a raft in the middle of the ocean, with a green Serpent Maiden handing them a copy of the holy *Prajñāpāramitā*, and with the Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī towering above the scene in a cloud, seated on a dark-blue lion with a magnificent mane and beard.

EDWARD CONZE.

## Islam

MUSLIM INTELLECTUAL: A study of al-Ghazālī. By W. Montgomery Watt. pp. 215. Edinburgh University Press. 1963. 25s.

The purpose of this book is to show the place of a man of ideas in society by examining the life and work of al-Ghazālī. To do this one must describe the society, and Dr. Watt has performed a marvel of compression in isolating the factors that formed it. The sacred law ruled all life except high politics; the canon-lawyers were dependent on the ruler (who might be a Shi'ite) for advancement, were often worldly-minded and apt to spend their energies in devising legal puzzles to fit unlikely eventualities. Hanbalites disliked theology and theologians; philosophers despised theologians for being content with inconclusive arguments; theologians called the philosophers heretics or infidels; mystics claimed to possess an immediate knowledge of God denied to all others and were suspect as doubtful Muslims; and Bāṭinis claimed unerring guidance by their leader.

Al-Ghazālī began as a canon-lawyer, and a brilliant career seemed open to him, but something went wrong. Disappointment with the canon-lawyers, with theology, with the value of both for the religious life, fear of the effects of philosophy on religion, all of these may have joined to bring on the crisis in his life which ended in mental and bodily illness. He gave up his professorship and withdrew from society. He later recovered his health and his faith, and set out his ideal of the religious life in *The Revival of the Religious Sciences*. He was an orthodox Muslim, believed that philosophy could not prove all that it claimed to prove, but that theology could learn method from it, that the law was the foundation of the religious life and that mysticism could build on that foundation. As these ideas were accepted by Muslims who came after him, it is clear that in al-Ghazālī's case, one man of ideas did influence history. Dr. Watt gives reasons for thinking that the name should be Ghazālī, not Ghazzālī. The book is a work of sympathy and insight and the story carries conviction.

A. S. TRITTON.

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DA'Ā'IM AL-ISLĀM. By al-Qāḍī al-Nu'mān b. Muḥammad. Ed. by Aṣaf b. 'Alī Aṣghar Faiḍī (Fyzee). Vol. 2. pp. 9 + 530 + 68. Cairo. Ma'ārif Press. 1379/1960.

The first volume of Professor Fyzee's admirable edition of the *Da'ā'im al-Islām* was published as long ago as 1951. Now appears the second half, which deals with *mu'āmalāt*, or the law of society as distinct from the law of worship (*ibādāt*). Here we have contract; marriage and divorce; manumission; testate and intestate succession; retaliation and *ḥadd* offences; apostasy and heresy; procedure and evidence. There are sections on vows, dietary laws, and what to us would be matters of etiquette. The indexes of Qur'ānic verses

and *ḥadīth* cited are full and useful, but I feel bound to question the value of the list of names (pp. 576-597). The names of the Prophet and some of the Imams appear several times on nearly every page. Is it really profitable to index every occurrence, page and line, without any reference to the context? There is an alphabetical index of place names, but the subject matter, as usual in Arabic publications, is listed only in "Table of Contents" form.

The *Da'ā'im al-Islām* is no dry-as-dust lawbook. In contrast with most works of *fiqh*, it makes highly enjoyable and even entertaining reading (e.g. the panaceas recommended in the section on "medicine" pp. 133-149). For this we have partly to thank the diligence of the editor and the unusually high standard of the printing: it is refreshing to find an Islamic legal text that is both legible and intelligible. But the content itself, consisting mainly of traditions from the Imams, is of more than purely legal interest. The Qāḍī's partisanship lends a special flavour to the whole work. In the section on the law of marriage, for instance, he finds an opportunity of vaunting the sexual prowess of the 'Alids and disparaging the virility of the Umayyads (p. 190f.).

Professor Fyze has himself lamented our meagre knowledge of *Ismā'īlī* law. His translations of extracts from the *Da'ā'im al-Islām* have already been published in Indian law journals. Let us hope that he will shortly make available to us still more fruits of his scholarship in this field.

W. J. D. HOLLAND.

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### Miscellaneous

MYSTICISM, a study and an anthology. By F. C. Happold. pp. 364. Penguin Books. 1963. 6s.

To introduce his subject the author raises the problem of knowledge. In sight there are light waves between the object and the eye, stimulation of the optic and then of the brain. Who can affirm that the end of that journey is like the beginning? Sensations tell us that some things are solid and hard; science tells us that they consist of electric particles gyrating in space. Contradictory descriptions. Science has revised traditional ideas of time and space and talks of a space-time continuum. Two men will form different conceptions of the character of a third if one of them loves and the other hates him. The riddle of existence will not be solved by reason alone. Mysticism is a frame of mind and is not peculiar to any one religion; the author finds it in Buddhism (which some refuse to call a religion), in nirvana which is the absorption of the individual self in the universal Self. There are degrees of mystical experience. "Mysticism of action" is all the lay-brother of a Sufi order can attain, but the importance of St. Augustine for the theory of mysticism is emphasized though as a busy bishop he was immersed in mundane affairs.

The author speaks of the nature-mysticism of Richard Jefferies and makes the point that he developed his ideas in isolation, knowing nothing of earlier thinkers; had he known of them, he would have used them. Most mystics are garrulous in their attempts to explain; Paul of Tarsus was wiser; he was caught up into the third heaven and heard words that could not be uttered and he kept silence. The anthology is carefully chosen to exhibit various modes of thought. First come examples of what would be called conversion, in religion; after that the order is mainly chronological:— India, Greece and Christianity. Islam has a place. Only one Arab is quoted, so this note may end with the experience of a second:—

“I was often alone with my soul, took off my body, and became like a stripped atom, inside my essence, outside all else. I saw in my essence beauty and loveliness which left me marvelling. I knew that I was a part of the noble world; I knew that I possessed active life. After that I waited for my going from this world to the divine worlds and found myself placed in them, attached to them, above the world of reason.”

The notes prefixed to the items in the anthology are explanatory rather than biographical. The author has done what he set out to do.

A. S. TRITTON.

## ANNIVERSARY MEETING

The Anniversary Meeting was held on 9th May, with the President, Sir Richard Winstedt, in the chair.

The following Report of Council for 1962 was laid before it:—

The Society has to regret the death of one Honorary Member, Professor Dr. Louis Massignon and of seven ordinary members: Col. J. B. Cunningham, the Rev. Professor Dr. A. Jeffery, the Rev. R. F. Chambers and Messrs. H. G. S. Bivar, K. B. S. Deo, A. G. Shirreff and F. St. G. Spendlove.

There were four resignations: Drs. E. Penrose, A. Waley and R. B. Whitehead and Mr. J. V. Kinnier-Wilson.

Sixty-seven new members were elected: Sir Roger Stevens; Professors Nejat Diyarbekirli, P. Kawerau, O. Lattimore and R. B. Serjeant; Drs. W. N. Arafat, R. E. Asher, S. Chandra, P. Chatterjee, R. Feldman, M. Gertner, J. C. Harle, A. K. Kinany, L. M. McCafferty, S. Shankar Raju Naidu, C. Jagannatha Rao, S. A. A. Rizvi, H. W. F. Saggs; the Rev. J. Correia-Afonso; Sayid G. A. Qadri and Messrs. B. Adams, R. L. Barclay, John Burton, A. K. Chattopadhyay, T. J. Deakin, W. Y. Dessaint, P. J. C. Driessens, H. F. Eilts, O. K. Ghosh, A. G. Gitter, Martin Hinds, J. W. Hunt, D. Tecwyn Lloyd, D. N. Lorenzen, A. K. Maitra, Bernard Matthews, J. A. J. Myren, A. K. Ndayawo, M. L. Nigam, E. de Guzman Orara, Pratapaditya Pal, J. P. Parry, V. Prakash, P. L. Prematilleke, K. H. Qadiri, M. A. Qazi, B. V. Srinivasa Rao, G. C. Scott, H. S. Shan, A. Sulaiman, Meer Sulaiman, R. F. S. Tate, K. T. Thomas, T. R. Trautmann, G. E. Turner, D. Waterhouse, William Watson, D. Westerveit, Wladimir Zwalf; Mesdames R. B. Chaudry, H. Hookham, M. Monck, S. Suleiman, M. Wenzel-Cavendish; the Misses B. P. Das, A. Ray, E. Russell.

*Foreign Extra-Ordinary Fellow.*—H.E. the Korean Ambassador was elected a Foreign Extra-Ordinary Fellow.

*Honorary Fellow.*—Professor I. M. Diakonoff was elected an Honorary Fellow *vice* Professor L. Massignon deceased.

*Honours.*—Dr. John Walker, D.LITT., F.B.A., F.S.A., was made a C.B.E., Sir Gerard Clauson was elected an Honorary Member of the Societas Uralo-Altaica.

*Burton Memorial Medal.*—This was awarded to Mr. C. J. Edmonds, C.M.G., C.B.E.



*Grants.*—The Society gratefully acknowledges the receipt of £200 from the British Academy and £300 from the Central Periodical Fund for its Journal, of £200 from the Government of India, of £50 from Pakistan, £46 from the Federation of Malaya, £37 from Singapore and £10 from Hongkong.

*Gifts.*—Lt.-Col. Lorimer bequeathed to the Society a lithographed copy of the *Tarikh-i Bakhtiari*; the London Buddhist Vihara presented 25 volumes of a Chinese translation of the *Mahaprajnaparamitasutra*; and Lady Teichman presented books on China from the collection of her late husband. The family of Thomas Manning, a former donor of Chinese works to the Society, gave it his portrait on permanent loan.

*Lectures.*—Mr. W. G. Archer lectured on "Indian Painting"; Dr. Alistair Lamb on "Recent Research on Early Indianized Settlements in Malaya"; Dr. D. M. Lang on "Impressions of Soviet Georgia"; Dr. H. W. F. Saggs on "Mother-Goddesses in Sumerian and Ancient Semitic religion"; Dr. G. Fehérvari on "Solomon's Mihrab in Jerusalem"; Prof. R. Hare on "Asiatic Elements in Silver and Jewelry of the Russian Empire"; Mr. C. J. Edmonds on "The Autumn Festival of the Yazidis"; Dr. A. A. Bake on the "Christian Tradition in Indian Folk-Music"; Dr. M. Gertner on "The Seven Pharisees of the Talmud, a new interpretation of the Ancient Baraytha" and Mrs. Olga Ford on "Persian Architecture". All but two of the lectures were illustrated by slides.

*Appointment.*—Dr. Allchin was appointed to succeed Mr. Sinor as the Society's representative on the Union Internationale des Orientalistes.

*Universities' Prize Essay.*—Mr. Christopher Clay of Trinity College, Cambridge, was awarded the prize for an essay on "British Intervention in Malaya". In future the competition will be biennial and the award £50.

*The Library.*—Many volumes were borrowed through the National Central Library and there were many applications for microfilms and photostats. It was resolved that the Society's collection of Chinese books be transferred to the permanent custody of Leeds University as the Society lacks space to house them.

*Officers.*—The Council recommends for election: Hon. Vice-President, Sir Ralph Turner; Vice-President, Sir Mortimer Wheeler;

Hon. Treasurer, C. C. Brown, Esq.; Hon. Librarian, G. M. Meredith-Owens, Esq.; Hon. Secretary, Dr. D. M. Lang; Ordinary Members of Council: Professors C. F. Beckingham, C. R. Boxer (co-opted 1962) and T. Burrow; Dr. F. R. Allchin (co-opted 1962) and Messrs. M. A. N. Loewe and R. H. Pinder-Wilson; Auditors: professional, Price Waterhouse and Co.; for the Council, Prof. A. L. Basham; and for the Society, Lt.-Col. W. A. Garstin.

*Social activities.*—A dinner was held on 29th March, at Connaught Hall (University of London), Tavistock Square, W.C. Sir Richard Winstedt, president, was in the chair, and the guests included:—

The High Commissioner for India, the High Commissioner for the Federation of Malaya and Tunku Maimunah, the Director of the London School of Economics (Sir Sydney Caine), Sir Neville Gass, Mrs. S. Suleiman (Indonesian Embassy), Mr. S. G. Khaliq (Pakistan High Commission), and Dr. N. S. Junankar (Indian High Commission).

The Hon. Treasurer (Mr. C. C. Brown) said, that he could talk only generally about the accounts, as they had not yet been audited.

On the expenditure side a severe winter caused an increase of £89 on heating and lighting. But the one notable item was £463 spent on painting and repairs to premises. Otherwise items of expenditure showed practically no change.

Turning to the Society's income, Members' subscriptions amounted to £1,331 or £82 more than in 1961. Dividends too rose by £67. The only startling feature was an increase in the sale of *Journals* to non-members from £1,496 to £2,138. This was largely the result of an unprecedented demand for sets of back *Journals*. One set was bought for Holland, one for Australia, one for Canada and the majority of sets to replace losses in German libraries consequent to the war, a demand bound to diminish. Back numbers of its *Journals* were part of the Society's capital and therefore the proceeds were being invested to provide a sum for the amortisation of their household premises and to augment a belated fund for pensions for the staff. For it must not be overlooked that dividends on our capital had not hitherto been saved but employed for the Society's annual disbursements.

£498 from the sale of sets of *Journals* having been invested and deducting £127 for amortisation of lease, the year ended with almost the same balance as when it began.

The adoption of the Report was proposed by Professor Basham who lamented the loss of Professor Massignon by death and of Dr. Waley by resignation. The election of Professors Burrow and Beckingham to the Council was fresh evidence that the Society was not an extension of the School of Oriental and African Studies. The Society had a proud record of service to scholarship. Its *Journals* and microfilms and photostats of its manuscripts circulated throughout the world. Today other societies took as their province subjects treated in earlier issues of their *Journal*, subjects dealing with sociology, political science, cultural geography, and economics. The Society had always existed for the study of all sides of Asian civilizations, past and present. Only combined with a training in linguistics and culture could the study of Asian economics and political and social science have a real background. Whatever the outcome of the many proposed changes in Oriental studies at the universities, it was the function of their Society to widen knowledge of Asian civilizations without taking sides in fruitless controversy. Fulfilling this, its original function, the Society could refute the charge heard in a few quarters that it had outlived its usefulness. Actually never at any time had it had a more important rôle to play than at present. He had much pleasure in moving the adoption of the Report.

Seconding the report, Dr. Quaritch Wales stressed the debt the Society owed to its devoted staff and expressed satisfaction at the favourable financial position. He regretted the tensions and controversies that Professor Basham had found among academic Orientalists and hoped there were many members of the Society who like himself could pursue their studies undistracted.

The President (Sir Richard Winstedt) said that this was the 140th year of the Society's existence and the 11th occasion on which he had been privileged to address an Anniversary Meeting from the chair.

The history of the Society during the past year had been nearly as uneventful as the history of learned Societies must always be, unless a Susan Miner dropped a fortune into their banking account. A Susan Miner was unique, and the Royal Asiatic Society like other similar bodies had always to struggle against the eternal want of pence that vexed such institutions. It was grateful, as usual, to the British Academy for its general grant and for its special grant towards the cost of publishing the Society's *Journal*. It was grateful to India, to Pakistan, Malaya, Singapore, and Hongkong for their

# ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY OF

GENERAL

## INCOME AND EXPENDITURE ACCOUNT

1961	£		£	£
		HOUSE EXPENSES		
350		Rent . . . . .	350	
251		Rates . . . . .	186	
170		Gas and electricity . . . . .	216	
133		Coal and coke . . . . .	234	
45		Telephone . . . . .	27	
16		Cleaning . . . . .	31	
113		Insurance . . . . .	108	
108		Repairs and renewals . . . . .	471	
29		Sundries . . . . .	36	
	<u>1,215</u>			<u>1,659</u>
		JOURNAL		
1,161		Printing and postage . . . . .		1,224
		ADMINISTRATION EXPENSES		
1,831		Salaries, wages and national insurance . . . . .	1,868	
190		Printing and stationery . . . . .	86	
74		Office postage . . . . .	84	
	<u>2,095</u>			<u>2,038</u>
		SUNDRY EXPENSES		
58		Teas . . . . .	53	
42		Lectures . . . . .	24	
6		Library . . . . .	21	
174		General . . . . .	235	
68		Audit fee (1961 included £31 underprovided in 1960) . . . . .	37	
	<u>348</u>			<u>370</u>
		PROVISION FOR DILAPIDATIONS . . . . .		150
127		AMORTISATION OF LEASEHOLD PREMISES . . . . .		127
4,946				<u>5,568</u>
843		EXCESS OF INCOME OVER EXPENDITURE FOR THE YEAR . . . . .		813
	<u>£5,789</u>			<u>£6,381</u>

## BALANCE SHEET

£		£	£
	ACCUMULATED BALANCE OF FUND		
17,649	At 31st December, 1961 . . . . .		18,641
	Add (deduct):		
843	Excess of income over expenditure for the year . . . . .	813	
256	Appreciation of investments in the year . . . . .	1,082	
(200)	Amount appropriated for staff pensions . . . . .	(700)	
93	Compounded subscriptions for the year . . . . .	128	
			<u>1,323</u>
18,641			19,964
	AMOUNT SET ASIDE FOR STAFF PENSIONS		
4,538	At 31st December, 1960 . . . . .	4,738	
200	Add: Amount transferred from accumulated balance of fund . . . . .	700	
4,738			<u>5,438</u>
	CURRENT LIABILITIES AND PROVISION		
632	Creditors and accruing expenses . . . . .	694	
—	Provision for dilapidations . . . . .	150	
			<u>844</u>
	<u>£24,011</u>		<u>£26,246</u>

# GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND

## FUND

FOR THE YEAR ENDED 31ST DECEMBER, 1962

1961 £		£	£
	<b>SUBSCRIPTIONS</b>		
696	Fellows . . . . .	733	
429	Non-resident members and students . . . . .	362	
124	Additional subscriptions under covenants . . . . .	157	
<u>1,249</u>			<u>1,252</u>
	<b>GRANTS</b>		
200	British Academy . . . . .	200	
400	British Academy Central Periodical Fund . . . . .	300	
10	Government of Hong Kong . . . . .	10	
200	Government of India . . . . .	200	
46	Federation of Malaya . . . . .	46	
100	Government of Pakistan . . . . .	50	
37	Government of Singapore . . . . .	37	
<u>993</u>			<u>843</u>
20	<b>DONATION</b>		
	<b>JOURNAL</b>		
972	Subscriptions from non-members . . . . .	1,011	
507	Sales of old issues . . . . .	1,198	
17	Advertising revenue . . . . .	18	
<u>1,496</u>			<u>2,227</u>
1,250	<b>RENTS</b> . . . . .		1,250
657	<b>DIVIDENDS AND INTEREST</b> . . . . .		731
124	<b>SUNDRY SALES AND RECEIPTS</b> . . . . .		78
<u>£5,789</u>			<u>£6,381</u>

31ST DECEMBER, 1962

1961 £		£	£
	<b>FIXED ASSETS</b>		
8,000	Leasehold premises at cost . . . . .	8,000	
2,032	Less: Amortisation to date . . . . .	2,159	
<u>5,968</u>		<u>5,841</u>	
100	Library, furniture and fittings at nominal value . . . . .	100	
<u>6,068</u>			<u>5,941</u>
16,345	<b>QUOTED INVESTMENTS AT MARKET VALUE AS SHOWN IN SCHEDULE OF INVESTMENTS</b> . . . . .		17,927
	<b>CURRENT ASSETS</b>		
458	Income tax recoverable . . . . .	499	
117	Debtors and prepayments . . . . .	177	
1,023	Balances at banks and cash in hand . . . . .	1,702	
<u>1,598</u>			<u>2,378</u>
<u>£24,011</u>			<u>£26,246</u>



ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND

GENERAL FUND (*continued*)

SCHEDULE OF INVESTMENTS 31ST DECEMBER, 1962

1961 Market value		Nominal amount	Market value
£		£	£
1,989	3% Funding Loan 1959/69 . . . . .	2,396	2,181
588	3% Savings Bonds 1960/70 . . . . .	735	654
3,948	British Electricity 3% Guaranteed Stock 1968/73 . . . . .	5,264	4,448
3,340	British Transport 3% Guaranteed Stock 1968/73 . . . . .	4,454	3,764
93	5½% Conversion Stock 1974 . . . . .	100	101
828	3% Savings Bonds 1965/75 . . . . .	1,149	948
109	Plymouth Corporation 3¼% Redeemable Stock 1972/82 . . . . .	175	132
564	British Transport 3% Guaranteed Stock 1978/88 . . . . .	999	684
674	5½% Treasury Stock 2008/12 (including £509 stock purchased in the year) . . . . .	1,302	1,282
47	4% Victory Bonds . . . . .	50	49
1,139	Mercantile Investment Trust Limited 5/- Ordinary shares . . . . .	198	980
946	Tube Investments Limited £1 Ordinary stock units . . . . .	300	769
520	Messina Transvaal Development Company Limited 6½% Un-secured loan stock . . . . .	575	561
778	Associated British Picture Corporation Limited 5/- Ordinary stock units . . . . .	76	618
782	J. & P. Coats, Patons & Baldwins Limited £1 Ordinary shares . . . . .	383	756
<u>£16,345</u>			<u>£17,927</u>

# ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND

## TRUST FUNDS

BALANCE SHEETS 31ST DECEMBER, 1962

### ORIENTAL TRANSLATION FUND

	£	£		£
BALANCE OF FUND			BALANCES AT BANK	659
At 1st January, 1962		839		
Deduct: Publishing costs	379			
Less: Sales of publications	197			
Interest received	2			
	199			
		(180)		
At 31st December, 1962		£659		£659

### GOLD MEDAL FUND

BALANCE OF FUND			QUOTED INVESTMENT AT MARKET VALUE	
At 1st January, 1962		190	£325 Nottingham Corporation 3% Irredeemable Stock	159
Deduct: Cost of awards	32			
Less: Interest received	10		BALANCE AT BANK	27
		(22)		
		168		
Add: Appreciation of investment in the year		18		
At 31st December, 1962		£186		£186

### PRIZE PUBLICATION FUND

BALANCE OF FUND			QUOTED INVESTMENT AT MARKET VALUE	
At 1st January, 1962		827	£600 Nottingham Corporation 3% Irredeemable Stock	294
Add: Sales of publications	43			
Interest received	18		BALANCE AT BANK	627
		61		
		888		
Add: Appreciation of investment in the year		33		
At 31st December, 1962		£921		£921

### MONOGRAPH FUND

BALANCE OF FUND			BALANCE AT BANK	318
At 1st January, 1962		267		
Add: Sales of publications		51		
At 31st December, 1962		£318		£318

### UNIVERSITIES' PRIZE ESSAY FUND

BALANCE OF FUND			QUOTED INVESTMENTS AT MARKET VALUE	
At 1st January, 1962		562	£646 Nottingham Corporation 3% Irredeemable Stock	316
Add: Interest received	27		£40 3½% Conversion Stock	25
Less: Printing	2		£230 3% Savings Bonds 1965/75	188
Prize	25			529
	27			
		-	INCOME TAX RECOVERABLE	4
Add: Appreciation of investments in the year		61	BALANCE AT BANK	90
At 31st December, 1962		£623		£623

# ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND

## TRUST FUNDS (*continued*)

BALANCE SHEETS 31st DECEMBER, 1962

### BURTON MEMORIAL FUND

	£	£		£	£
BALANCE OF FUND			QUOTED INVESTMENT AT MARKET VALUE		
At 1st January, 1962		52	£49 3% Funding Loan 1959/69		44
Add: Interest received		2	INCOME TAX RECOVERABLE		1
Appreciation of investment in the year		3	BALANCE AT BANK		12
At 31st December, 1962		<u>£57</u>			<u>£57</u>

### JAMES G. B. FORLONG FUND

BALANCE OF FUND			QUOTED INVESTMENTS AT MARKET VALUE		
At 1st January, 1962		5,436	£2,018 3% Savings Bonds 1960/70		1,796
Deduct: Expenditure:			£1,051 British Electricity 3% Guaranteed Stock, 1968/73		888
Grants of scholarship and exhibitions at School of Oriental and African Studies	400		£923 3% Savings Bonds 1965/75		762
Commission on prior years' sales of publications	5		£1,217 3% Treasury Stock		645
	<u>405</u>		£700 3½% Conversion Loan		430
Less: Income:			£254 3½% War Loan		156
Sales of publications	63		£500 4% Defence Bonds		500
Interest received	225				<u>5,177</u>
	<u>288</u>		INCOME TAX RECOVERABLE		16
		(117)	BALANCES AT BANK		686
		5,319			
Add: Appreciation of investments in the year		560			
At 31st December, 1962		<u>£5,879</u>			<u>£5,879</u>

### DR. B. C. LAW TRUST ACCOUNT

BALANCE OF FUND			QUOTED INVESTMENT AT MARKET VALUE		
At 1st January, 1962		1,061	Rs. 12,000 3% Government of India Conversion Loan of 1946		568
Add: Interest received	27		UNITED KINGDOM INCOME TAX RECOVERABLE		6
Less: Indian income tax	17		BALANCE AT BANK		426
		10			
Deduct: Depreciation of investment in the year		(71)			
At 31st December, 1962		<u>£1,000</u>			<u>£1,000</u>

## PROFESSIONAL AUDITORS' REPORT TO THE MEMBERS OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND

In our opinion the foregoing accounts of the general and trust funds of the Society give a true and fair view of the income and expenditure of the Society for the year ended 31st December, 1962, and of the state of its affairs at that date.

3, Frederick's Place,  
Old Jewry,  
London, E.C.2.

PRICE WATERHOUSE & CO.,  
Chartered Accountants.

Countersigned

19th September, 1963.

A. L. BASHAM,  
Auditor for the Council.  
W. A. GARSTIN,  
Auditor for the Society.

respective grants. They had hopes that the British Academy would give a further grant towards the purchase and binding of books. That year they were particularly grateful to Leeds University for a donation of £500 towards furthering the objects of the Society.

As the Honorary Treasurer had explained, their exiguous capital had been and was being augmented by the investment of sums derived from the sale of back *Journals*, volumes that were potential but not always realizable capital. For the moment the demand for them was associated with the aftermath of the World War, many orders coming from Germany. They were badly needed. For ordinarily the dividends on their investments went towards annual expenditure and that expenditure might be increased by a liability to pay rates from which the Society had hitherto been exempt. For 1963 it would be exempt, while its case was being considered.

Mainly owing to a few energetic recruiters like Dr. Lang the number of members had increased. But as his predecessor had remarked, fifty years ago a teacher of any Oriental subject would as soon have thought of walking the streets of London without hat, stick and gloves as of not being authenticated by membership of their Society. That strangely was not always so today, though salaries had improved. Some critics looked at the growth of many new -ologies and -ological societies and considered that their Society suffered from being stuck-fast in old-fashioned scholarship. It was true that its jargon was seldom novel but, hallowed by age, the time-honoured jargon of linguistics, philosophy and law. But it could not be said that their interest in linguistics, for example, was in a subject already exhausted, if for example it was going to take five years to correct errors even in the recently revised New Testament. They were interested in modern languages and history but there was still much work to be done on the Indian epics, the Buddhist scriptures, Chinese, Persian and Arabic classics and Old Javanese, to take examples at random. The people of Asia were not economic robots but human beings with a great past that affected their present.

Orientalists led lives dedicated to study of a world outside the interests of the ordinary European. Tertullian in a famous phrase described the dedicated as *silvicolae et exsules vitae*. Orientalists other than those who lived near Epping forest might not be *silvicolae* but they were *exsules vitae*, outside the life of the man in the street.

Notwithstanding this intellectual isolation, in the past year the Society found itself and the East unexpectedly linked by the strong bond of love. A member had edited for a well-known London firm

that famous Indian *ars amoris*, the Kamasutra. In the preface the editor thanked the President and Council for lending him the Society's copy of Burton's translation. The President at any rate had felt extremely nervous lest he might have to appear in the dock as an accessory to the publication of an obscene book. On the contrary the Lord Chamberlain had passed it. Critics of both sexes in the most reputable papers had acclaimed it, though one lady acutely and sensitively remarked that it intellectualized what ought to be spontaneous. The book was the best-seller of the month. In many eyes the Society which after 140 years might be thought rather bloodless had regained the vigour of youth in a way that would have shocked even George the Fourth who had given it its charter.

A final word on their staff. They were fortunate in having as their latest recruit one so able and experienced in office work as Miss Solly. In their library, there was no trouble Miss Nielsen would not take to assist readers. As for their secretary, he had no hesitation in saying that but for the untiring loyalty of Mrs. Davis and her disregard of the limits of working hours it was difficult to see how the Society could have survived the stringent financial years after the war. If there was ever any one indispensable, it was she, and when she retired, it would take two to replace her.



# PRESENTATION OF THE BURTON MEMORIAL MEDAL

TO C. J. EDMONDS, C.M.G., C.B.E.

14TH FEBRUARY, 1963

Presenting this medal, Sir Gerard Clauson, Vice-President, remarked that it was an ill-wind that blew no one any good. As influenza had laid the President low and an academic engagement prevented the Director from being present there had fallen to him the pleasant duty of handing the Burton Medal to one who with him had been a humble participant in one of the great campaigns of the first World war, the occupation and liberation of Mesopotamia. When he reached there as a Staff Officer in 1916, Mr. Edmonds, who had arrived in 1915 and was a political officer, already had a name to conjure with.

The Burton medal was tangible testimony to an almost unique characteristic of the British, a curious facility for taking a primitive people to their hearts and being liked by them in turn. When he went to Mesopotamia there were Eady, Leachman and Haji Williamson for the Arabs, E. B. Soane and Mr. Edmonds for the Kurds. He was sure that in the crisis that had just broken out in Irak one of the first things the Kurds there would have done was to seek Mr. Edmonds' advice, which would be eminently wise.

As the late General Qāsim had found to his cost the Kurds were a proud, resolute and freedom-loving people, not easy to control. It was therefore the more to Mr. Edmonds' credit that he had achieved such influence over them that at one time he was the representative of the Mesopotamian government in the Kirkuk and Suleimaniye provinces, the home of the Iraqi Kurds. No one who had close dealings with such strong characters could avoid occasional embarrassment. Mr. Edmonds could probably tell them stories of awkward moments even better than those told in his books. Another ally of the Kurds, the late E. B. Soane had written a fascinating book on his adventures. One not in his books he had heard one summer morning in Baghdad in 1917. There Soane was housed near G.H.Q. as contact man with the Kurds in northern Mesopotamia beyond the Turkish lines. One day a Kurdish lady visited him and declared that as a displaced person she had nowhere to go. Soane made helpful and sympathetic suggestions. He was therefore rather taken

aback when he retired that night to find the lady ensconced in his bed. How he effected her further displacement is unrecorded.

Mr. Edmonds had held high office in the service of the Crown as well as in that of the Mesopotamian Government, playing an important part in many international negotiations. Now he was devoting what in any ordinary man would be described as his declining years to the compilation of a dictionary of the Suleimaniye dialect of Kurdish.

Mr. Edmonds was the tenth Burton Medallist; of its joint recipients the late Colonel and Mrs. Lorimer were counted as one. They were a distinguished body, some eminent travellers like Mr. Philby, some eminent public servants like Sir Arnold Wilson. Mr. Edmonds was a more eminent traveller than Sir Arnold and a more eminent public servant than Mr. Philby; in short he was eminent at once as traveller, administrator and scholar.

Mr. Edmonds, expressing his thanks, said: "My first duty is to express my deep sense of gratitude for an honour as unexpected as it is highly appreciated: unexpected for obvious reasons; appreciated because it has been awarded by this Society, because it is associated with the name of Richard Burton who, ever since my youthful thoughts first turned towards a career in Asia, has been one of my heroes and whose *Pilgrimage to Al-Madinah and Meccah* is still a never-ending source of instruction and delight, and because, when I look at the list of my predecessors, I feel very proud to find myself in such company.

"Although I spent the greater part of my career in an Arab land, any original exploration and research that I have been able to carry out has been on its non-Arab fringes or across the border in Persia. I have to thank your President for his generous interpretation of the word 'cognate', and so for allowing me to choose a subject relating to the Kurds and to describe my own pilgrimage, one that involved no danger or hardship, to the Metropolitan Shrine of the Yazidīs on the occasion of their great Autumn Festival."

[NOTE: Mr. Edmonds' lecture on 'The Autumn Festival of the Yazidīs' will be the basis of a monograph, to be published by the Society.]

## NOTES

### XXVI INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF ORIENTALISTS

This Congress is to be held at New Delhi from 4th to 10th January, 1964. Prof. Humayun Kabir is the Chairman of the Organizing Committee and Shri A. K. Ghosh and Prof. R. N. Dandekar are its Secretaries. The Congress is divided into ten principal Sections — Egyptology, Semitic Studies, Hittite and Caucasian Studies, Altaic Studies including Turcology, Iranian Studies, Indology, South-East Asian Studies, East Asian Studies, Islamic Studies and African Studies. Thousands of scholars from India and abroad have been invited to participate in the Congress. Scholars wishing to register themselves as members may address the Joint Secretary, XXVI International Congress of Orientalists, Ministry of Scientific Research and Cultural Affairs, New Delhi.

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### INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON ASIAN HISTORY

This Conference will be held at Hong Kong from 30th August to 5th September, 1964. Particulars may be obtained from:—

The Conference Secretary, Department of History,  
The University, Hong Kong.

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### THE 20th INTERNATIONAL GEOGRAPHICAL CONGRESS

UNITED KINGDOM, 1964

A Circular giving information as to application for membership of the above Congress and its Activities, from 6th July until 11th August, 1964, can be obtained from The Secretariat, 20th International Geographical Congress, c/o Royal Geographical Society, London S.W.7.

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